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NEW ARTICLE ON YUGLOSLAV NATIONALITY PROBLEMS

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[Skender Tsumi article in ZERI I POPULLIT "How Titoite Yugoslavia Is Looking Forward to the 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Tirana, 25 Jan (ATA) -- Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article written by Skender Tsumi. It reads:

Some time ago, in the context of the preparations being made for the 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, there were convened one after another the 23rd Plenum of the CC of the LCY and the 18th one of the CC of the LC of Serbia. Though these two forums were convened, as was publicly reported, to strengthen the "unity and coexistence" in the federation and in the Republic of Serbia, contrary to what was expected, their deliberations brought to the fore the national differences and conflicts that are long ago corroding Yugoslavia.

Frontal Attack of Great-Serb Hegemonism

The 18th Plenum of the CC of the LC of Serbia, which was held on December 24-26, 1981, brought to the fore the feverish attempts of the Great-Serbs to establish their hegemony, the Serb unitarianism and centralism, first of all, on the nations and nationalities organized in the autonomous regions and, later, on all the republics of the federation.

-- The Great-Serbs want to modify the existing constitutions --

For the realisation of these aims, they want to modify the existing constitutions approved in 1974, but as it turned out also at this plenum, the Great-Serbs do not consider as suitable the ratio of forces in Yugoslavia to do such a thing. This explains also the fact that Tihomir Vlaskalic, chairman of the CC of the LC of Serbia, who delivered the main report at the plenum and the other Serb chieftains swore that they do not intend to infringe the Yugoslav Constitution and the rights of the regions. But what Vlaskalic tried to hide was revealed by Dragoslav Markovic, chairman of the Assembly of the SFRY when he said that the development might raise also the question of modification of the Constitution, that talks can be held also in regard to the modification of the Constitution if we fail to solve the question on its basis.

-- The general spirit of the debates at the 18th Plenum of the CC of the LC of Serbia was this: By allegedly respecting the Constitution and in the name of the unified interpretation of it, a number of laws must be issued which in practice lead to the liquidation of the autonomy of the regions and the complete establishment of the domination of Serbia --

But the general spirit of the debates was this: By allegedly respecting the Constitution and in the name of the unified interpretation of it, a number of laws must be issued which in practice lead to the liquidation of the autonomy of the regions and the complete establishment of the domination of Serbia.

This is what Vlaskalic, Petar Stambolic, Milos Minic, Mirko Popovic, Dusan Ckrebic, Dusanka Pijevac, Dragoslav Markovic and all the Serb representatives sought while speaking at the plenum. Concretely it was proposed that some obligatory laws must be issued for the Republic of Serbia and the autonomous regions such as the law on social planning (of the economy), the law on people's defense, the law on the security of state and the law on the unification of the international relations which deprive the regions of the rights they have enjoyed until now in these fields.

Practically, these laws establish a unitarian system, centralized and concentrated in the hands of Serbia, limit the competences of the Autonomous Regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina and liquidate their autonomy. In the best case, as it was said at the plenum, the whole autonomy is merely reduced in a certain "cultural autonomy".

-- The Great-Serbs seek the limitation of the competences of the LC of Kosovo and Vojvodina --

It was also sought that the competences of the Communist League of Kosovo and Vojvodina should be limited and that they should fully be subordinated from the organisational viewpoint to the LC of Serbia and that they should be deprived of their right to establish direct links with the LC of Yugoslavia.

-- The Serb clan aims at establishing its hegemony, the unitarian system also on the Yugoslav federation --

At the plenum, it was also expressed the aim of the Serb clan to establish its hegemony, the unitarian system also on the Yugoslav federation. The contributions made by Petar Stambolic, Ivan Stambolic, Milos Minic, Dusanka Pijevac, etc., were aimed at preparing the opinion so as to realize also on a federation scale what they are trying to do with the regions. Thus, for example, in his contribution Petar Stambolic said that "the situation when the isolation of the republics and regions is assuming (?sorryful) proportions, opinions are also presented which put in doubt also the very bases of the system we have built", that is, of the federation. "The adjustment of the relations of Serbia in general, he said, is valuable not only for the unity of the Republic of Serbia, but of the whole Yugoslavia".

Whereas Ivan Stambolic, chairman of the Executive Council of Serbia, while expressing his dissatisfaction on the socalled "federalism" which allegedly has been established in the Republic of Serbia through the creation of two autonomous regions, openly attacked the federal organisation of Yugoslavia. "For us, in the final account," Ivan Stambolic said," is not more important the question if the SR of Serbia will be disintegrated and federalized as a unique state. More important is if we as a society will be disintegrated in Yugoslavia. This depends on the reply given to the question about the federalisation of Serbia". The same ideas were also defended by Minic when he stressed that "not only the unity of Serbia, but also the unity of Yugoslavia" depend on the realisation of the centralising measures in Serbia, that is, that this Serb "unity" must cover the whole federation.

-- Concern at the 23rd Plenum of the CC of the LC of Yugoslavia --

The Great-Serb hegemonism and unitarianism was felt also in the proceedings of the 23rd Plenum of the CC of the LC of Yugoslavia, which was held on December 23, 1981, in order to make amendments and supplements to the Constitution of the LC of Yugoslavia. By implying the Great-Serbs, Branko Mikulic said in his report that "under the pretext of the struggle against the danger of the federalisation of the LC of Yugoslavia, they are putting at stake the equality, independence, the role and the responsibility of the communist leagues of the republics and the autonomous regions and want to transform the LCY into a monolithic party of the centralist type".

At this plenum it was clearly expressed the concern that the Great-Serbs aim at establishing their hegemony on the LCY through the introduction of the unitarian and centralist system, first, by infringing the competences of the LC of the republics and regions. It was said at the plenum that "some individuals by operating publicly are hitting also the federal order of Yugoslavia, the national question, are seeking to strengthen the role of the state organs in the planning of economy, in the accumulation of production, are infringing the Yugoslav Constitution and the Law on United Labour". The purpose of such forces, the plenum stresses," is the unitarian organisation of the LCY and then of the Yugoslav society as a whole".

In the greater part, the plenum defended the view that the hitherto organisation should be preserved in the organisation of the LCY "which recognizes the Communist League of Yugoslavia as a unified organization, based on equal position, independence and the responsibility of the communist leagues in the republics and regions".

The Kosovo and Vojvodina "Threat" and the Real Aims of the Great-Serbs

In order to brain-wash the public opinion for the implementation of centralizing measures, that is, the establishment of the domination of Serbs in the whole of Yugoslavia, they use a double tactics: On the one hand they try to hide out the danger of Great-Serb hegemony and minimize that of Serb nationalism as a whole, whereas on the other hand, they extremely exaggerate the alleged danger of "separatism that comes to Serbia and Yugoslavia by the autonomous regions and the federal republics".

-- The leaders of the Communist League of Serbia directed all their attacks against the autonomy of the regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina --

Milos Minic said that "we have ruined the Great-Serb hegemony ever since the national liberation war", while Serb nationalism was considered a "victim" allegedly due to the so-called revival of Albanian nationalism. Thus Petar Stambolic said that "today, when Albanian nationaiism endangers the whole of Yugoslav community, the putting on the first plane of the danger of Serb nationalism means to divert the struggle from the primary direction to secondary ones". The leaders of the Communist League of Serbia directed all their attacks against the autonomy of the regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina. Much fuss was raised about the isolation of regions in regard to their co-existence in the republic", about the alleged "complete equality of the position of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosovo with the position of the republics," about "the tendencies of separation of the LCs of Kosovo [and] Vojvodina from the League of Communists of Serbia". With such "arguments" T. Vlaskalic, M. Minic, Dragoslav Markovic etc., tried to defend the unitarian measures.

-- The chieftains of Serbia fan the "danger" that supposedly comes from Kosovo --

In order to exert pressure on the plenum and on the entire Yugoslav opinion, the chieftains of Serbia fan the "danger" that supposedly comes from Kosovo. All the discussions of the leaders of the LC of Serbia had a common feature: They tried to prove that the events of Kosovo and in particular the demand of the Albanian population expressed in the slogan "Kosovo-a Republic", allegedly comprise a great danger for the unity of Yugoslavia.

-- "The danger of Vojvodina" was added to the "Kosovo danger" --

But this time another danger was added to the "Kosovo danger", that of Vojvodina, which, as it was said in the plenum, threatens Serbia and federation as well. The representative of Vojvodina, Pashko Romac stressed that "now they are in search of other victims. Such a victim was found in Vojvodina". They spoke about Vojvodina just as they did with Kosovo, that it requires "independence and equality", that "it is threatening the unity of Serbia [word indistinct] the whole country", that it "defends the Kosovo and Great-Albanian nationalism", that it is threatening the unity of the Republic of Serbia and of all the country, etc. Moreover, Petar Stambolic stated at the plenum that along with the "reactionary" slogan "Kosovo - a Republic" the other slogan "Vojvodina - a Republic" is circulating as well.

-- The proceedings of the plenum showed that the events of Kosovo and Vojvodina are being used as a kind of alibi to justify the hegemonic and unitarian aims and acts of the Great-Serbs --

But the proceedings of the plenum showed that the events of Kosovo and Vojvodina are being used only as a pretext, as a kind of alibi to justify the hegemonic and unitarian aims and wants of the Great-Serbs. Pashko Romac and other speakers did not deem it correct that the present discussion on the relations in the republic be linked with the events of Kosovo. "The events of Kosovo, Romac said, are one thing, whereas relations between the republic and regions are another thing". Ilijaz Kurtesi too, in his contribution, did not consider correct that "some problems that have to do with the coexistence in the republic subordinated with the events that occurred in Kosovo". He said that "someone has hardly waited for such a situation (the events of Kosovo) in order to exert pressure, that changes be made not only in stands, but also in essential positions".

-- The Great-Serbs themselves failed to harmonize their contributions properly --

The Great-Serbs themselves failed to harmonize their contributions properly. At a time when Vlaskalic tried to convince the opinion that now allegedly it is not the question either for the best establishment of centralism and unitarianism, or for the infringement of the constitutional rights of the regions, Dragoslav Markovic attacked directly the existence of the autonomous regions and asked for their elimination. Markovic conditioned the creation of regions with historic and economic reasons and not with the necessity of "the affirmation of the equality of nations in Yugoslavia", as is said until now. He considered as unacceptable the opinion widely propagated "on the autonomous regions as the sole form of the realisation of the policy of national equality and of the rights of nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia". Markovic said that the equality of the Albanians and other nationalities can be realized also outside the regions, as it happens, according to him, in the territory of narrow Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia. But it is common knowledge that the Albanians have no right at all there, an open national oppression is exerted and the most savage denationalizing measures are implemented there.

The plenum was characterized from start to finish by an unbridled chauvinist spirit. In order to calm somewhat the public opinion, Vlaskalic himself was forced to allegedly criticize to some extent those who say to excess that "the Serb nationalities see the solution of these problems in the liquidation of the autonomy of socialist regions, in the centralization and denial of the relations of equality of nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia". This is the way how Spiro Galovic acted, who said in his contribution that "Serb nationalists think that national equality and coexistence in the Republic of Serbia have completely failed, that this equality was the main reason of the crisis of Kosovo and that the only correct policy in Kosovo is that policy which was in force until the plenum of Brioni, [July 1966] hence the policy of inequality".

Ivan Stambolic, too, was forced to admit the presence of the Great-Serb chauvinism. He said in his contribution that "the region might be threatened by unitarians, centralists, hegemonists. Naturally, there are such. They would liquidate not only the regions, but they would eliminate all the republics". But Ivan Stambolic said that he does not consider correct the attempts "made in order to find them amongst us, who are participating in the debates in the republic". The objective is clear. According to Stambolic, the Great-Serbs, unitarians and centralists can be sought everywhere, but not in the leadership of the LC of Serbia, not among the Serbs themselves.

"Blue Book" of Great-Serbs

There emerged at the deliberations of the 18th Plenum of the CC of the LC of Serbia that at the moments of the aggravation of national quarrels, as there have been in the years 1961, 1968, 1971, 1974 and 1981, when these conflicts assumed fiercer forms, the hegemonic, centralists and unitarian forces of Serbia have clashed with those of the republics and regions that defended the federal order of Yugoslavia.

Minic said that either in 1968, in 1971 or in 1974 when the Constitution was approved, "there were manifested different unitarian and bureaucratic tendencies and later on the con-federal, autarkic and separatist ones." But Minic, like Vlaskalic, Markovic and others, said excusing themselves that "as early as 1977, there have dominated in Serbia and Yugoslavia the autarkic tendencies which have been expressed in the isolation of the regions and the republics."

True, as the contributions of the 18th Plenum of the LC of Serbia proved, the Great-Serbs have raised for solution the problems that are now being discussed in Serbia and in Yugoslavia, as early as 1977, in the material they have presented to the Presidency of the CC of Serbia, under the title "Blue Book." It turns out from those few things stated at the plenum that the "Blue Book" expresses the aims of the unitarian Serb forces to limit the rights and competences of the autonomous regions. This was the reason that in 1977 it was not discussed extensively either by the Presidency of the LC of Serbia or the CC or the Presidency of the republic, but it was decided to be left aside "and be considered as a non-existent document," that is, to wait for a more suitable time. Tito has undoubtedly influenced in this. As long as he was alive, he preserved, even in appearance, a "unity" or "equilibrium" of the forces between the Serb group and the Croato-Slovene group. Now D. Markovic proposed that the "Blue Book" be rehabilitated and put at the disposal of the CC of the LC of Serbia and the Yugosalv public opinion. Despite the oppositions made by the representatives of Vojvodina, who considered the "Blue Book" condemnable and rejected it, in his closing speech, Vlaskalic sought that "the materials of 1977 (the 'Blue Book') be distributed to the members of the CC or the committees of the communes." Thus a discussion will take place on the basis of a platform which will further encourage the Great-Serb chauvinism and will incite the national indignation and the blow to the other nations of Yugoslavia, and in particular to the Albanians and the autonomous regions of Kosovo and Vojvodina.

The Outburst of National Quarrels in Serbia and Yugoslavia

The 18th Plenum of the CC of the LC of Serbia brought to light the profound national disagreements and quarrels that are corroding present-day Yugoslavia. Many a speaker openly accepted this. Thus, for example, Miroslav Pecalic pointed out in his contribution that the "present crisis is hitting Yugoslavia in the most sensible tissue of our society, in the intra-national relations, in the unity of the country, co-existence," that the "splitting and disintegrating tendencies are assuming broad and dangerous proportions."

--The Titoite claim for the construction of an alleged "society of freely united nations and nationalities, based on independence, autonomy and voluntary unity" has suffered complete fiasco--

It turned out from the plenum that the Titoite claim for the construction of an alleged "society of freely united nations and nationalities based on independence, autonomy and voluntary unity" has suffered complete fiasco. In Yugoslavia "there prevail isolation, division, separatism which as the speakers said, begins in the enterprises and continues in the regions and the republics." Minic, Gligorievic, etc. accepted that "the atmosphere of disbelief and reservation reigns in the relations of the CC of the LC of Serbia and the regional committee of Vojvodina and that of Kosovo," that the "numerous conflicts and disagreements are becoming an obstacle for unity."

The conclusion that one draws from these contributions is that the revival of Great-Serb chauvinism multiplied the efforts of the nations and nationalities organized in the federal republics and in the autonomous regions to preserve the gained positions, to defend the sovereignty and autonomy which are threatened by the unitarian tendencies of the Great-Serbs.

-- Contradictions and disagreements between the leadership of Serbia and those of the regions, Kosovo and Vojvodina --

The plenum revealed the contradictions and the disagreements that exist between the leadership of Serbia and those of the regions, Kosovo and Vojvodina. Irrespective of the special conditions of military occupation and the state of emergency that reign in Kosovo the representatives of Kosovo sought to defend the Constitution of the Autonomous Socialist Region of Kosovo. Thus, in his contribution Ilijaz Kurtesi stressed that it does not seem suitable at all the situation for the discussion of such important problems. [sentence as received] He also sought to defend the competences of the autonomous regions. "It is true, said Kurtesi, that Serbia is not a federation, but two regions, which have their own functions. Independence and responsibility are included in it. Any such case, which would infringe the interests of the regions, could give rise to great political consequences."

Bajram Selimi expressed even more openly his reservation stressing that due to the proposals made for the drafting of some laws "there are being put in question all the solutions and relations which have been built until now on the basis of the Constitution and the many year-long work of the republican and regional organs for the realisation of the constitutional principles". He also said that "the raising (at the plenum) of such a broad range of questions, which though formally is said nowhere, in essence means infringement of the constitutional position of the region".

-- The conflict of Vojvodina with Serbia is evidence of the antagonisms gnawing at the Republic of Serbia and the whole federation of Yugoslavia --

But at the plenum the Great-Serbs encountered the greatest opposition of the representatives of Vojvodina, who in general counterposed the attempts to violate the constitutions of autonomous regions. The proceedings of the plenum revealed the profound divergences and disagreements of the leadership of Serbia with that of Vojvodina, that have emerged following the events in Kosovo. So, the regional committee of Vojvodina was blamed that at its meeting held in May 1981 "it was not engaged in the struggle against the slogan 'Kosovo - a Republic'" and that it "has not put it clear that Kosovo should not become a republic". The Serb chieftains consider this stand adopted by Vojvodina as its desire that Vojvodina be constituted as a republic.

The opposition of Vojvodina towards the centralist and unitarian policy of the Great-Serbs was reflected at the meeting of the Regional Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, that was held on December 21, 1981, on the eve of the recent plenum of Serbia. The Regional Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina jumped at the conclusion that the polemic being held in the leadership of Serbia (on the competences of regions) has been organised from above and is carried out "through staffs in a planned way and with set aims".

It stressed that "unity and coexistence cannot be attained through any centralism of state organs, with the bureaucratic submission, the unitarian-centralist means that can only stir up the nationalism of the other nations and nationalities".

At the same time the Regional Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina condemned the attempts of Serbia to lay hands on the income of Vojvodina, on its rights on the hydro-power station of Djerdap, on the production of oil, etc. There were also turned down "the attempts to change the Constitution with regard to the strengthening of the role of the state, the Republic of Serbia". It was stressed that the "forms are different, while the essence is the same: to degenerate the order and the role of the region in the SFR of Yugoslavia and the SR of Serbia".

At the recent plenum of the League of Communists of Serbia of December 24-26, 1981, the representatives of Vojvodina compactly opposed the attempt of the Great-Serbs to hit the autonomy of the regions and the sovereignty of the federal republics. In their discussions Pashko Romac and many other representatives of Vojvodina expressed themselves for the autonomy and the Constitution of the autonomous region, against the attempts of the Serb chieftains to establish their hegemony and unitarianism in Serbia and Yugoslavia. Romac reminded the plenum of the fact that the autonomy of the regions and of Vojvodina has been defined by documents of the CP of Yugoslavia and Tito and consequently they cannot be violated. Pavle Kertenic said that "the autonomy of Vojvodina is not only a historic fact, but also part of the democratic rights of the working people of all its nationalities". "Why are the attempts to realize the functions of autonomy, consequently of the independence and equality of Vojvodina, considered as separatist, Kertenic said? If it is like this, then the SR of Serbia is centralist". He upheld the idea that "when it is the question of equality, the republics and regions are equal on the basis of the Constitution in the Yugoslav community, in the federation".

Ida Sabo openly attacked the Great-Serbs: "Always, she said, when it has been discussed the problem of the autonomy of the region of Vojvodina there have emerged and are emerging today, too, Great-Serb nationalists who attack Tito and the autonomous regions in Serbia". Likewise, Slavka Veselinov criticized the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and Serbia for having attacked Vojvodina especially for its demand that the communist leagues of regions have the right to convene their congress." Why, said Veselinov, the democratic relations in the League of Communists are so brutally violated by some leaders?"

Likewise, there were turned down the proposals made by the leadership of Serbia to strengthen the Serb hegemony and centralism, through the issue of laws on peoples defence, on the planning of the economy, on the relations with foreign countries, etc. Contrary to Serbs, the Vojvodina people turned down as unsuitable the "Blue Book" of 1977 and the new proposals made by the 18th plenum, which they considered as limitation of the autonomy of the regions.

Opposing the law on people's defence proposed by Serbs, as a law that violates the autonomy of the regions in the field of defence, Nada Bokani reminded the plenum of Tito's word who persisted to grant "more initiatives to the republics and regions (in the defence of the country) so that the regions have in this sphere the same rights as the republics."

As to the law on the unification of the relations with foreign countries, it was opposed by Vojvodina being considered as unacceptable. It followed from the contribution by Ivan Stambolic that the Executive Council of the Assembly of Vojvodina has reported to that of Serbia that "it refuses the proposal on the establishment of relations for the mutual harmonization of international visits".

The plenum openly revealed the economic contradictions of Vojvodina with Serbia which consist in the exploitation of the income of the Autonomous Region of Vojvodina by Serbia. Even the law on planning proposed to the 18th plenum by the Serb leadership, aimed at intensifying this [word indistinct] of the regions by the Republic of Serbia.

The conflict of Vojvodina with Serbia is evidence of the antagonisms gnawing at the Republic of Serbia and the whole federation of Yugoslavia. Its importance and the consequences it may bring about for Yugoslavia become more evident if we bear in mind that Vojvodina is not homogenous from the national view point, that it is considered as "a Yugoslavia in miniature" where the majority of the population is Serb. This does not mean that the Hungarian nationality does not exert its influence in the political life of this region.

Herein arises the question: If Serbia and the Great-Serbs are encountering the opposition of the leadership of an autonomous region, in which the majority of the population is made up of Serbs, such as Vojvodina, how will they succeed with Kosovo or with the federal republics that are determinied to defend their sovereignty?

-- The Albanian population of Kosovo never reconciles itself with the chauvinist plans and actions of the Big-Serbs --

The Albanians of Kosovo have constantly and persistently demanded the recognition of their democratic and national rights denied of by the Great-Serbs. In this context they put forth the demand for the status of the republic of Kosovo in the framework of the Yugoslav federation, which would guarantee them the rights of the other federal republics, too, enjoy. Now, instead of taking into consideration and fulfilling these legitimate demands of the Albanians of Kosovo, the Serb chauvinists are fiercely attacking and demanding to eliminate completely even the status of the autonomous reigon. The Albanian population of Kosovo never reconciles itself with these chauvinist plans and actions.

-- Reaction on the part of the republics to preserve the rights they enjoy --

The plenum revealed that the problems discussed there surpassed the limits of the Republic of Serbia, that there it was not only the question of subjugation of regions by the Great-Serbs, but also for the hegemony in the whole Yugoslav federation. This was seen in the reaction to the proceedings of the plenum of Serbia by the republics and especially of Croatia and Slovenia to preserve the rights they enjoy.

Of special importance in this direction is the interview that Vladimir Bakaric, member of the Presidency of the SFR of Yugoslavia and of the CC of the LC of Yugoslavia granted to "VJESNIK" of Zagreb on December 25, 1981.

In this interview he attacked the anti-republican campaign being conducted in the field of economy, which implies the centralist and unitarian tendencies of Serbia to violate the sovereignty of the republics in the economic and political fields. Bakaric defended the national economies of the republics from attempts of Serb unitarianists to liquidate them under the pretext of creating a unified Yugoslav market, which as Bakaric stressed, "in fact turns you to centralism".

Bakaric expressed himself that in the future, too, Yugoslavia should continue to be built on federal basis as it was decided at the 2nd meeting of AVNOJ in 1943. Bakaric sees the positive aspect of this federal system. In the first place, in the fact that it created the national economies that were lacking in Yugoslavia. He attacked the "centralist-unitarian threat, the hegemonic tendencies and revanchism, that have brought no good to Yugoslavia, but have made difficult and continue to make difficult even today the solution of the principled questions in the relations of Serbia and Yugoslavia". He did not openly say where do these tendencies derive from, but gave to understand that they derive from Serbia. In this context he criticised also the anti-Albanian tendencies that the Serbs have spread through the press, as well as their revanchist stands towards Kosovo, the violation of the rights granted to it by the Constitution.

Speaking of the LC of Yugoslavia and the positions of the LC of the republics and regions, Bakaric said that it must not be allowed that "a republic dictate its will on the League of the Communists". It is about Serbia.

Why do the Great-Serbs make so much haste to realize their hegemonic aims at the present moment?

The strengthening of the political and military positions of the Serb clan in Yugoslavia, after the 1981 March-April events in Kosovo, have influenced in this. If the leaderships of other republics and of the autonomous regions have considered as temporary and transitory the state of emergency created in Yugoslavia and are waiting that an end come to it and Yugoslavia return again to the situation before spring 1981, the Great-Serbs want to transform it into a permanent situation and to strengthen their hegemony over the regions and republics in all the fields.

They are trying through "legal", "constitutional" means and behind them through military means, to sanction and further strengthen those results they have achieved in the establishment of the unitarianism and hegemony. The Great-Serbs do not want this moment to escape. Markovic put it openly that "we could not solve these questions in 1977, because we did not have unity in the leadership of the LC of Serbia whereas now, we have such a unity".

A great influence has been exerted by the grave economic crisis that Yugoslavia is passing, plunged in debts amounting to 20 billion dollars, corroded by inflation, etc. The Serb bourgeoisie does not find any other way out from this situation, but to make use of the income of regions and republics. It is understandable that it cannot do this without affecting the autonomy of regions and sovereignty of the republics in the political and economic fields.

-- Integral part of the joint plot of the Great-Serbs and the Soviet social-imperialists --

These attempts of the Great-Serbs, as we have pointed out earlier, should be considered as an integral part of the joint plot of the Great-Serbs and the Soviet social-imperialists against the peoples of Yugoslavia, the Albanians of Kosovo and the PSR of Albania. Why shouldn't we say that behind these attempts is the same hand of the Soviet social-imperialists, who incited Jaruzelski to establish the military dictatorship in Poland and who want to make, in other forms, the same things in Yugoslavia, too?

Naturally, Yugoslavia has its own features, both in the national composition and the state structure. These are two serious hindrances for the plans of the Great-Serbs to establish a military dictatorship. Therefore, Serbs are acting carefully, under camouflaged forms, allegedly "legal" and "constitutional" but consistently and insistently in order to reach their aims.

With regard to the position of the autonomous socialist regions, as constitutional elements of the federation, Bakaric said that "this is the greatest political problem of Yugoslavia." This and particularly "that of Kosovo, Bakaric said, is not a problem of Serbia alone, but it is becoming a problem of Yugoslavia. If in Yugoslavia there cannot exist a nationality, (it is about the Albanian one) then this question has to do at the same time with the existence of the whole Yugoslavia...". The allusion is clear: If Serbia will deny Kosovo of its rights as autonomous region, this will be "life attempt" on the whole Yugoslav federation. It will put in question its very existence.

Hence, on the basis of the Yugoslav Constitution, Bakaric sought that Serbia respect the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina. He denounced the demand "Kosovo - a Republic" as an attempt for "a special position" within Yugoslavia. But at the same time he differentiated the stand of Croatia or other republics from that of Serbia in regard to the treatment of Kosovo. "As far as we, the others are concerned, Bakaric stresses, we have respected the independence of Kosovo for a long time, and this has been a rule".

Nevertheless, the hostile aim against the PSR of Albania is present both at the Great-Serb clan and Croatian-Slovenian one. Bakaric considered the autonomous region of Kosovo as "a bridge towards Albania".

"This nationality" (Albanians), he said, "should have been a bridge for the elimination of borders". "We should support the thesis, Bakaric said, which will grant full freedom to the Albanian nation, but to the Albanian nation that will set the bridge towards Serbia, towards Yugoslavia and towards future Albania". This statement of Bakaric once more proves the old aim of the Yugoslav revisionists with Tito at the head to gobble up Albania and turn it into the 7th republic of Yugoslavia.

Although these aims have suffered fiasco due to the stand and struggle of the Albanian people led by our party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, Bakaric does not give up the chauvinist plans of the Yugoslav bourgeoisie towards Albania.

As a whole, the stand of Bakaric, who expresses the opinion of the Croatian-Slovenian clan in regard to Kosovo, changes from that of the Great-Serbs. It is not meaningless the fact that at the 22nd plenum of the LC of Yugoslavia too, held on November 17, and in which other attacks were launched against the Albanians of their demand for republic and against Albania in particular, none of the distinguished Croatian-Slovenian personalities took the floor. It can be expected that after Croatia, other republics too, and particularly Slovenia and Bosnia-Hercegovina publicly counterpose the unitarian and hegemonic aims of the Great-Serbs.

Why Do the Great-Serbs Make Haste?

The chieftains of Serbia expressed an extraordinary haste at their plenum in order to solve as quickly as possible the questions presented for discussion. "The questions that are on the agenda, said Petar Stambolic, cannot be postponed any longer, because they will have negative consequences". As for the urgency in solving the problems presented by the leadership of Serbia at the plenum, scores of other speakers insisted, except for those of Kosovo and Vojvodina. It was said openly that "if these question were not solved, not only Serbia, but the whole Yugoslavia is in jeopardy".

REAGAN'S STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE REPORTED

AU270913 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 27 Jan 82

[Text] U.S. President Reagan addressed Congress last night with his State of the Union message. He touched on the issue of limiting nuclear rearmament and more specifically on the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States in Geneva. It is important that we should negotiate from a position of strength, the President said. He once again threatened Poland, adding that further measures against it will be undertaken in case things do not improve and, of course, in the interest of the United States.

MLADENOV ADDRESSES FOREIGN POLICY COMMISSION

AU261253 Sofia BTA in English 0905 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jan (BTA) -- At the session of the Standing Commission on Foreign Policy with the Bulgarian National Assembly, Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, spoke yesterday on some topical problems of Bulgaria's foreign policy.

He underlined that the international developments have reaffirmed how correct and far-sighted were the statements and conclusions of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the international situation, as well as how correct and farsighted its definitions and decisions on the foreign political activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian state have been.

The meaning and content of the principled, active and constructive foreign policy of Bulgaria is the ensuring of the most suitable international conditions for the further construction of the developed socialist society. This is especially necessary now, under the present, complicated at the fault of the most reactionary imperialist circles and above all of the present American administration, political climate in Europe and the globe.

That is why the main and pressing target and the task of our international activity will remain the preservation and consolidation of peace, Mr Petur Mladenov pointed out.

As a strong link of the socialist community our country will continue to make her contribution to preventing a nuclear catastrophe, to deepening detente, to bringing to a halt the arms race and for disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security, for solving all the outstanding issues and problems through negotiations. We will unmask with every means the aggressive and reckless moves of the United States and its followers, we will counteract in the most determinate way the attempts at discrediting and isolating the Soviet Union, at eroding the social systems of the socialist countries, said Mr Petur Mladenov.

Emphasizing the great importance of the Soviet peace programme and of the ideas and proposals raised by the fraternal socialist countries along these lines, he said that, by showing initiative and activity, Bulgaria will continue her tireless work aimed at their translation in life.

We shall continue our direct participation in the work of the United Nations Organization, of the other international organizations, of a number of forums of prestige, including the Madrid meeting and the Vienna talks, and in compliance with our capacity and possibilities will contribute to the achievement of concrete results in a number of most important and topical issues of our time, the minister pointed out.

The Soviet-American talks on the problem of the medium-range missiles should be assessed as a positive step, noted Mr Mladenov.

The strategical trend of our foreign policy in the coming period will be again the expansion and establishment of relations of cooperation with the other socialist community countries and, above all, with the Soviet Union, said Mr Mladenov.

It is our national and international duty to make every effort for the strengthening of the political and military-defence alliance of our states -- the Warsaw Treaty.

Our adequate participation in the Council for the Mutual Economic Assistance will continue to play a particularly important role for the successful construction of socialist Bulgaria. We shall make our contribution to the still more effective development of the integration processes and for the implementation of the long-term target programmes for industrial joint production and cooperation, said Mr Petur Mladenov.

He said that Bulgaria pays and will continue to pay special attention to the situation on the Balkan Peninsula. Our Balkan policy corresponds fully both to the strivings of the Bulgarian people and to these of the other peoples of the region and we shall continue to make every effort, depending on us, to fulfill the integral programme for our relations with the Balkan countries, adopted by the 12th BCP Congress, for the establishment of the positive trends and for the achievement of new agreements, in order to make tranquility, understanding and creativity in the name of reciprocal advantage triumph on the Balkan Peninsula.

The proposal to make the Balkans a nuclear-free zone serves the same noble striving, while the initiative of Mr Todor Zhivkov for a meeting of the Balkan countries' heads of state is an important and concrete step towards the discussion of the further realization of this idea, stressed the Bulgarian foreign minister.

Bulgaria is solidary and will continue to support the struggle of the peoples against imperialism and colonialism, neocolonialism and apartheid, in defence of their legitimate rights, for freedom, national independence, democracy and social progress. An important trend in the foreign policy of Bulgaria, as formerly, will be the strengthening of our ties with the developing countries, said the Bulgarian foreign minister, the realization of mutually advantageous political, economic, trade, cultural and techno-scientific cooperation with these countries.

We shall seek roads for expansion of our contacts with the advanced capitalist states in compliance with the priciples of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

In conclusion Minister Mladenov stated again that socialist Bulgaria will continue to pursue an unswerving and constructive policy of understanding and cooperation with all countries and peoples, in the interest of the world peace and the progress of mankind.

The standing parliamentary commission backed the active and consistent policy of Bulgaria in implementation of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress for consolidation of peace and security in the Balkans, Europe and the world. Underlined was the exceptional personal contribution of Mr Todor Zhivkov to the development and translation of this policy in life. His Leninist attachment to principle and far-sightedness, his wisdom and activity as a statesman and a politician enjoy deserved international recognition.

The commission approved the report of Mr Petur Mladenov and assessed positively the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

POLISH DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR ECONOMIC TALKS

AU261916 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Sofia, 26 Jan (BTA) -- Mr Roman Malinowski, deputy-chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, co-chairman of the Bulgaro-Polish Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Commission, arrived here as a head of an economic delegation.

The guest was welcomed by Mr Todor Bozhinov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, co-chairman of the Bulgaro-Polish Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Commission, and by Mr Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

The Bulgarian and the Polish delegations will discuss questions of bilateral economic cooperation.

REAGAN'S STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS REPORTED

LD270936 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 27 Jan 82

[Text] As distinct from most of his predecessors, President Reagan did not start his State of the Union address with the usual statement that the state of the nation is good; instead, he promised that in the future its state would be far better. His speech centered more on prospects for the future and less on an analysis of the present situation. In a brief review of his first year in office, Reagan tried to blame previous administrations for present difficulties. He spoke about successes such as the one-quarter reduction in the interest rate and the reduction of inflation to below 10 percent, but the current worst burden, namely the 9.5 percent unemployment rate was passed over in silence.

Reagan's concept of a new federalism comprised the essence of his speech; in the coming years more responsibilities are to be shifted to state federations and local administrations. This applies mainly to social programs for which there is insufficient money in the federal budget due to higher arms spending and the present tax cuts for the highest income brackets. The President said that he would continue this type of policy.

Reagan gave his assurance of supporting civic rights but he entirely left out the two most pressing problems, namely, the constitutional amendment on the equality of women and the extension of the validity of the electoral law. Reagan then said that he would deal with foreign policy matters in a separate speech, but he nevertheless attacked the present Polish Government and the Soviet Union. Reagan again declared that all U.S. plans for talks with the Soviet Union must be conducted from a position of strength which requires further arming and what he called a realistic policy.

CPCZ CC SENDS CPSU CONDOLENCES ON SUSLOV DEATH

LD262320 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2200 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee has sent a telegram of condolences to the CPSU Central Committee on the death of Comrade Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov.

SECOND DAY OF 'DRUZHBA-82' EXERCISES REPORTED

Difficult Weather Conditions

LD262212 Prague CTK in English 1744 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Prague, 26 Jan (CTK) -- Military exercises "Friendship 82" involving ground and air forces of the Czechoslovak People's Army, the Soviet Army and the Hungarian People's Army, continued Tuesday for the second day.

The first two days of the joint military exercises of fraternal armies of the three Warsaw Treaty member states, which are taking place in difficult weather conditions, prove high combat qualities and morals of their units, and good mastering of military equipment.

Second Day's Action

LD262300 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1939 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Prague, 26 Jan (ADN) -- On the second day of the routine maneuvers "Friendship 82," units of the Czechoslovak People's Army, the Soviet Army and the Hungarian People's Army demonstrated in the CSR their determination to defend reliably the socialist community of states.

Using heavy military hardware, units of their air and land forces of the three fraternal armies took up positions this morning for the battle with the assumed enemy. After strong resistance, in which artillery was used and surprise counterattacks launched, the enemy was forced to withdraw to the next line of defense. The "enemy" attacked with chemical weapons, which was a severe test, but thanks to the judicious actions of the commanders and staffs, who immediately organized effective defensive fire, the attack was halted.

Our own main forces then attacked, and an airborne landing in a heavy snowfall illustrated the high training standard of the armies. In a precise combined action, modern, heavily armed helicopter gunships shadowed the troops of the assumed enemy who had been landed by transport helicopter. They were then destroyed following vigorous action by motorized infantry and tank units.

On this second day of the maneuvers, the exercises of the troops engaged in the maneuvers demonstrated the military mastery, high political qualities and morale of the socialist armies.

SLOVAK PRAVDA COMMENTS ON CPSU-PCI CONTROVERSY

AU271101 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Jan 82 p 7

[Commentary by Julius P. Loerincz in the column "Foreign Policy Notes": "L'UNITA Is Handing Out Notes and Condemning"]

[Text] Probably something quite terrible has happened. Toward the end of last December and in the first weeks of this year, under the pretext of assessing the events in Poland, the leadership of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] in fact practically damned real socialism in several of its documents; to quote a leading Italian comrade, the PCI leadership has irrevocably condemned it. Without any justification, it has called obsolete and valueless all the experience gained so far, and the results of the battle for socialism and for building it; and now somebody has still dared to raise his voice against this. In the past few weeks we ourselves did this in RUDE PRAVO and in our newspapers; but surprise was voiced also in other socialist countries, and on Sunday the CPSU Central Committee's organ PRAVDA published an editorial which undoubtedly replied to the accusations from Rome in a dignified form and a principled manner.

However, according to the comrades from the PCI leadership, not everybody has the right to do this; at least not somebody they are parting ways with. The party's press organ L'UNITA announced that it would publish the reply to the PRAVDA article today; but the notes were handed out, and the new sentence already passed yesterday. What the Soviet PRAVDA had published is allegedly not the comradely discussion which the comrades in the PCI leadership allegedly want; and one member of the party's leadership saw, even on Sunday, the Soviet reply as an "attack with the undertones of aggression."

The terminology of wholesale accusations addressed to the CPSU, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is thus expanding and taking on sharper forms. It is as though the comrades in the PCI leadership were losing their sense of proportion, their sense of a truly comradely discussion. In their smugness they are pleased to hand out advice, instructions and injunctions to other parties, to classify them according to an arbitrary scale of demagogy and distorted values which are closer to the bourgeoisie's propaganda maneuvers than to the traditions of the workers and communist movement.

Or are they perhaps continuing to belittle socialism in this way, the living legacy of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the fact that the Soviet Union and the socialist community are playing the decisive role in the antiwar battle?! Every communist, every fighter against imperialism, reaction and war, is anxiously asking just now whether the PCI leadership is still capable of discussing things, or whether -- absorbed in the bends of its turn from the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary base -- it is no longer capable of realistically assessing the present world from class positions? The Soviet PRAVDA wrote very tellingly that objectively this turn signifies aid to imperialism, which has been trying to weaken socialism for decades. It means assistance to anticommunism and to all forces that are hostile to social progress in general.

REPORT ON STROUGAL SPEECH ON PRICE INCREASES

LD270052 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Report on speech by Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and federal premier, at a meeting of leading officials of economic, party, trade union and youth organizations and workers from the fuel and power industry in Ostrava on 26 January]

[Text] Lubomir Strougal stated that the purpose of the meeting is to discuss the ways and means of ensuring tasks in our fuel-energy economy in 1982 and the next period and to evaluate some topical questions of the economic and social development. He stressed that the question of fuels and energy compels all of us not only to think about but primarily to resolve problems. He pointed out that life has its obstacles and difficulties, but that it is our common task to master and overcome them. He stressed that no one is on his own. We are strong through our common goal, united will and our collective determination to struggle with the present obstacles and difficulties and to overcome them, to overcome by ourselves, to overcome the despondency and lack of faith in our own strength that still occur now and then; this is the main and most important thing.

Comrade Strougal also said that if this is true generally then it is all the more true about you, the people who ensure that the life-giving blood -- energy in its various forms -- continues to flow into our economy and our homes. Our miners have always stood in the foremost frontline in the struggle for a better tomorrow. They have always confirmed this through their everyday manly work and its results including, unfortunately, the irreplaceable losses of their friends and comrades, sacrifices never to be forgotten by our socialist society and country.

For all this, Comrade Strougal expressed comradely thanks on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Council of Trade Unions, and the federal and national governments to all workers of the coal and ore mining industry, energy generation, gas enterprises and enterprises of geological prospecting. He also conveyed sincere greetings from Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic and his profound respect, praise and sincere thanks for their work. Comrade Lubomir Strougal further said:

[Begin Strougal recording] We are starting the 2d year of the 5-year plan -- a year in which we have to take another step forward in the realization of the Sixth CPCZ Congress conclusions. While we do not underestimate any sphere or sector of social acitivity, it is quite clear that we have most to do in the national economy; it is in this sphere where we have to make a great effort in order to fulfill, in the interest of the further development of our society, the tasks we have stipulated for this year.

The year 1981 and the results achieved provide plenty of valuable experience which we must utilize as much as possible in our managerial activity and in the economic practice as a whole, in fact everywhere, from the government to the working collective. Let us always remember that the effectiveness of the work of everyone and everywhere is measured by the final results. These are decisive; only the results can help us to achieve a higher stage of development. It is important that in 1981 again our economy maintained a rising trend of development.

Despite the fact that the climatic conditions by no means favored our agriculture, that as a result we had a lower harvest than anticipated, and despite the fact that the construction industry also did not fulfill the planned tasks, we succeeeded in achieving the following figure: The volume of the national income amounted to Kcs 454 billion and was higher than in 1980. The biggest contribution to this was made by industrial production, especially by the engineering and light industries.

We also deem it very important that we succeeded in achieving more exports than imports. As for exports, they grew in 1980 by 9.4 percent and exports to the socialist countries by almost 12 percent. Imports were higher by 5.8 percent, so that the total payment and trade balance of the state is better than anticipated in plans. It was an undeniable success that all these results were reflected in a lower growth of indebtedness in freely convertible currencies, and we are managing to keep it within a sensible proportion. We are intending to continue this tendency in 1982 and the years to come.

The decisive prerequisite for attaining this target is that we have a sufficient quantity of the necessary competitive export resources. This is possible only with the prerequisite that we improve the technological standards and quality of the existing products and put new products on the market. We must always strive to export fewer goods but more technical skills and human labor. It is primarily thus that we must enhance effectiveness and increase our export prices. At the same time we are making import schedules stricter, since we presume that we can ensure some imports, especially those from the capitalist states, either through our domestic production or through imports from the socialist countries.

We may also note that in 1981 we made further progress in the development and deepening of specialization and cooperation with the CEMA member countries, especially with the Soviet Union. In the 1st year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan we also recorded some progress in enhancing effectiveness. This is borne out by exceeding the plan of adjusted value added by the positive trends toward savings of material costs in certain branches and spheres, and by the growth of the profitability of the production resources. We also achieved a better utilization of the resource of working time than in 1980.

Of course, we do not overestimate these positive moments in any way. After all, we discussed this very openly and critically at the October session of the party Central Committee.

It is certain that we had and we have the prerequisites to achieve much better results. But not to see that a move forward has been made, not to bear these results in mind would mean approaching the other extreme. It is, however, necessary to see that the measures in the sphere of management, planning and finances, remuneration, norms, introducing cost accounting [khozraschet], have not been totally effective. They are not being implemented everywhere and with the same results. The reasons for this are twofold: First, it is the inadequate standard of the acquisition of the individual principles by the leading staffs of enterprises and economic production units; hence, the unsatisfactory and incomplete formulation and implementation of these principles at individual levels of economic management, and as a result of this their efficiency is lower. Apart from this, however, we must also see the other side, that is, the need for the central organs to deepen further and to improve the adopted measures in the sphere of management in the interest of their better efficiency. This year it is necessary to make a substantial step forward in management work, particularly in implementing cost accounting in enterprises, factories, and individual workplaces. The demanding norms of consumption of materials, energy and work are conditions for a rhythmical running of production and for higher efficiency.

I would like to stress yet again that the characteristic feature of this year's plan is the striving for maximum economies in all sectors. This is evidenced by our intentions in the savings of fuel and energy, metals and the other raw materials and production materials. Measures in the sphere of investment construction are also telling in this respect, especially regarding the overall amount of investments in the current year, as well as a substantial reduction in starting new projects. The policy of savings is being consistently implemented also in the sphere of foreign currency economy, particularly in imports. [end recording]

In the next part of his address Comrade Lubomir Strougal said that the government has set itself the task in the entire economic and state mechanism of reducing the numbers of workers in management and administration on a differential basis by 10-20 percent by the end of 1985 through better organization and rationalization of administrative tasks. He said that the entire management activity and the work of all of us must lead toward a more pronounced progress in the decisive sphere: the intensification of our rational economy. For what is now becoming apparent is that the initial results do not correspond to our needs.

When speaking about the shortcomings on the domestic market and in the services to the population in the complexity and quality of building construction, he said:

[Begin Strougal recording] A balanced domestic market where the supplies of goods correspond to the demands of the consumers is the key political question. It influences the behavior and attitudes of the people; it influences productivity and labor initiative. That is why this sphere must be in the forefront of our interest. It is understandable that the basis of the solution of this problem rests in production: Industry, agriculture and services must provide the market with goods in the demanded quantity, as well as choice in the demanded quality. That is the main way to satisfy the needs of the people. It is here, in all the producers, agricultural workers and food industry workers, engineering workers, workers in light industry, in timber processing industry, as well as in cooperatives and services, that there are many reserves and unused opportunities. Nevertheless, in some areas in view of the overall national economic factors, we must realistically assess what is and what is not within our capabilities. At this point it will be necessary to decide how to influence the standards and aims of society's consumption.

In this connection I would like to mention what is now the subject of debates, discussions and some disquiet on the domestic market: the measures in preparation. As of 30 January we intend to raise the prices of certain kinds of meat and meat products, including poultry, fish and game, as well as the products made from them, rice, cigarettes and tobacco products, wines, rum and home-produced vodka. I am saying openly that the rises in retail prices concern only the products that I have stated. That is why the increased buying of certain kinds of foodstuffs, such as sugar, flour, salt, and so forth have been and are quite unfounded, but have recently been and are witnessed in some places. As far as the rise in prices of certain kinds of cigarettes, tobacco products, wines and the aforementioned kinds of alcoholic products is concerned, there is no need to go into great detail to justify the reasons that have led us to this. They consist first in the limited sources of domestic raw materials for the production and, as you yourselves admit, foreign currency is necessary for more important purchases.

Another important reason, however, is health reasons: the attempt to limit today's disproportionately high and constantly increasing consumption of alcohol and tobacco products. For the sake of information I would like to say that the average increases in prices of these products is 30 percent for cigarettes, 39 percent for tobacco products, 18 percent for wines, 19 percent for rum and 25 percent for home-produced vodka.

Several important circumstances led us toward increasing the prices of meat and meat products on average by 27 percent; in quality meat by 41 percent on average, and by 17 percent in smoked and cured meats.

Comrades, believe me that we did not lightly approach this undoubtedly unpopular step. This matter was the subject of many discussions and debates, several times in the past and not only last year. It was the subject of consultations of party leadership, trade union and the government. We took into consideration several circumstances. Of course, we were seeking also possibilities for an alternative solution; we weighed all the economic and political pros and cons. In the end, after careful consideration, we decided to increase the prices of meat and meat products. We are aware of the fact that this decision will influence every family, and not everywhere will it be received with understanding. But we must take this into account.

The problem is that the motivation of any political and economic decision cannot depend on its being so-called popular or unpopular. It is either necessary and the only possible option or not. Politics and economics cannot follow pious desires. They must stem from and must respect realistic facts and well-tried realities. And it is precisely this well considered decision that stems from these principles.

What then are the main reasons that led us to this? It is known that we belong among front-ranking countries in Europe in the annual per capita consumption of meat and meat products which reached 85 kg, and including fish, 91 kg.

In line with the party's economic policy it has been possible in the long term to maintain the stability of retail prices of basic foodstuffs. The realization of this policy has not been easy since here too an impact was felt of several external and internal economic factors whether caused by the growth of the world prices of raw materials, fluctuations in the agricultural production or -- and this is an important question -- by the effectiveness and quality of our own work. The maintenance of retail prices of basic foodstuffs has required ever growing subsidies from the state budget. According to rough calculations a Kcs100 food basket in our country requires about Kcs40 from state subsidies.

(?Despite) the high average consumption of meat and meat products, the demand has not been fully satisfied for several years, especially for variety. The standard of supplies in various places and areas also frequently varies greatly. It is also affected by the intensity of tourism and certain other influences, including shortcomings in the distribution network. Although for several years we have been regulating meal allocations to various regions, districts and stores, we are unable to satisfy the ever rising demand. The small price differences and the relatively low cost of meat and meat products create a constant pressure on the further increase of their consumption which, of course, as I have already stated, is very difficult to ensure as to quantity and variety.

Added to this another aspect: In the preparation of meals at home and public catering, meat is the easiest and handiest material which does not require [word indistinct] and time-consuming preparation. The small price differences between various types of meat and meat products cause demand to be concentrated on the best types. The situation in the world is different: While in those countries where demand is fully satisfied the price of tenderloin is almost 4.5 times higher than the price of stewing beef. In our country the difference is only a little over double. At the same time few people realize that one slaughtered animal produces 15 - 16 kg of roast beef and 5 kg of tenderloin. The situation in pork is similar; one slaughtered animal produces only 13 kg of boneless joint and 11 kg of quality roast. The small price differences and (?relatively) low prices also cause considerable waste, wasteful use and spoiling of these foodstuffs.

Despite these facts the current prices of meat and meat products with the exception of partial adjustments in 1965, have been valid for 28 years, since the year 1953. But in this time many things have changed both in our country and in the world. It is enough to recall some basic facts: From 1965 - 81 the average monthly income rose from Kcs1,393 to Kcs2,690. Still more pronounced was the rise in the annual monetary incomes per capita: from Kcs 10,800 to Kcs 23,960 in 1981. During the same period living costs rose by approximately 23 percent. The most serious fact, of course, has been that in the last 10 years the prices of agricultural and other raw materials have considerably risen on foreign markets. For example, in 1970 our import of 1 million tons of grain cost Kcs 1.214 billion; in 1975 it cost Kcs 1.838 billion, and in 1979 Kcs 2.652 billion. In the same period the prices of soya bean products rose by almost three times and of fish meal by more than 2.5 times. The ensuring of animal production, and thus also the consumption of the foodstuffs of animal origin, required that in the Sixth 5-Year Plan we had to import 7.8 million tons of grain and more than 3.6 million tons of concentrated protein fodder. Anyone can calculate just how many billions of korunas we had to pay for these high prices of grain and other fodder. In recent years we have been producing almost one fourth of the meat and meat products consumed from imported fodder.

Since there can be no doubt that the prices of foodstuffs and agricultural products on the foreign markets will continue to rise, we can by no means afford these expensive imports at the present levels. For this reason the 16th congress so urgently stressed that it is necessary to achieve a self-sufficiency in grain production and to increase further our general self-sufficiency in the production of foodstuffs, so that their production is ever more ensured from domestic sources, and also that the effectiveness of agricultural production is enhanced.

In considering changes of some retail prices for some types of meat and meat products, we have also had to take into consideration the fact that as a result of the external and internal influences the costs of meat production have considerably grown. Current costs exceed its retail [word indistinct] on average by 40 percent. In practice this means that every kilogram of beef, for example, attracts a Kcs14 subsidy from the state budget, and in the case of pork and poultry approximately Kcs5. However, when we add to this the costs connected with [words indistinct] then these subsidies are much higher, especially for pork and poultry.

But I would stress that in dealing with the prices of meat and meat products we took into consideration not only the economic and financial aspects of the problem. All the time we have been observing the conclusions of the 16th congress which stressed that a price has not only an economic function but also a social role. [Words indistinct] despite the raising of the prices of meat and meat products we will continue to subsidize (?these prices) although on a smaller scale. We are making the price increase on a differentiating basis, both as to quality and demand for various types. This is borne out by the fact that of the total volume of the sales the retail price of 44 percent of quality meat and meat products is retained. Of this in the case of meat products the existing price is retained in 69 percent of the total volume of sales. The increase of retail prices is reflected, of course, also in the prices in restaurants [words indistinct] according to the various grades of restaurants. It has been an integral part of our decision to increase the price of meat and meat products to take measures adopted by the government in agreement with the Central Council of Trade Unions, measures mitigating their impact on the families [words indistinct] especially in the case of families with children and in the case of old-age pensioners. The increase of the prices of meat and meat products represents an average increase [word indistinct] approximately Kcs40 per capita.

In line with the principles of our social policy we are thus raising [word indistinct] child allowances which amount to Kcs 15 billion annually [words indistinct] Kcs 2.2 billion more. The monthly maternity allowance, too, will be Kcs 100 more, which will affect [word indistinct] women. The allowance for the wives of soldiers in military service will be increased by the same amount, that is, for those who are caring, unprovided, for children up to 3 years of age or who cannot earn wages for other serious reasons. These measures will help younger families to maintain an appropriate standard of living. In schools and high school cafeterias, in kindergartens, creches and in hospitals the price increase will be fully covered out of the state budget and will not burden family budgets.

Moreover, we are adjusting the lowest pensions: in the case of individuals from Kcs780 to Kcs880, that is, by Kcs100. In those cases where a couple are living on a pension, the increase will be from the present Kcs1,330 to Kcs1,500, that is by Kcs170. Other pensions up to Kcs1,200 will be increased by Kcs40 and pensions of more than Kcs1,200 will be increased by Kcs30 per month. This increase applies to 3.3 million of our citizens.

We are also not forgetting the invalids and disabled citizens. We are altering measures also in the hospital security of lonely persons. In the future we want to continue in not reducing their health benefits while they are in hospital care. They will receive full benefits.

In the sphere of enterprise catering for the working people the increases in the retail prices of foodstuffs will mean -- with the preservation of the present structures of the menu -- that the purchase price of foodstuffs for one portion will increase by approximately 90 hellers. In view of the fact, however, that it is a progressive form of catering for the working people and that we are interested in its further development -- the people who eat in enterprise cafeterias number 2.7 million -- the prices of meals in these cafeterias will increase merely by half of the cited amount; the second half will be covered from the funds of the enterprise in question.

I believe that there is no need to stress that all these measures will require a considerable increase of financial means provided by the state for social consumption and social care. This increase represents Kcs 4.460 billion. The increase and the differentiated alteration of prices is considered, of course, to be not only the way of better economies with meat and meat products, but of better satisfaction of the needs of the working people in general.

The fourth session of the party's Central Committee last October discussed in detail the issues of agricultural production. Among other things, we decided on consolidating the material stimulus of the growth of the required agricultural production. The conclusions of this session must be consistently implemented in all decisive sectors, beginning with agricultural and food production and embracing trade and consumption. This also includes the production, storage and economic use of fodder, implementing structural changes in animal production with emphasis on the development of cattle, and expanding the production of volume fodder, including the development of production by smallholdres and private breeders. Connected with this is higher valorization of fundamental raw material in the meat industry, good work of stores achieving high quality, leading and educating the consumer in accordance with the principles of healthy nutrition.

All this, of course, concerns not only the production of foodstuffs, but also the supplies of industrial goods. Rationalization of consumption and better valorization of fuels and power are without doubt in the forefront of our interest. It is known that specific investment expenses earmarked for rationalization purposes, for modernization of equipment in all industries which influence power consumption are, when calculated on 1 ton of measurable fuel, lower by one half than the investments expended on gaining the same amount of measurable fuel, whether by means of our own extraction or imports. In 1980 and 1981 we adopted an extensive program of special measures which should achieve during a period of 5 years relative savings amounting to 13.5 million tons of measurable fuel. The results of last year, however, show that we did not fully achieve the set 2 percent of relative savings in relation to the national income.

This shows that the rationalization program is not being paid sufficient attention. The necessary demand to reduce substantially the material and energy requirements of our economy has not penetrated the practical management work of all links of managements in the production and nonproduction spheres, including achieving the desired savings in households. Last year -- and there are signals of this happening also in preparation of the plan for 1982 -- the investment intentions in the sphere of rationalization of the consumption of fuel and energy were implemented and are being prepared inertly and inconsistently in places. It is generally known that even with the necessary cuts in investment funds in general it is these rationalization actions that have the necessary priority. It is natural that better utilization of basic funds, overall reduction of material requirements of production, enhancing quality and achieving peak technological standards in as large a number of products as possible contribute toward the necessary savings in this sphere. In unused machinery and equipment, in production of low quality energy expended is waste. We are aware of the fact that, in reducing the energy requirements of our economy, gradual purposefully directed changes of the whole structure of our economy -- simply a transition toward production requiring less energy -- must play its role. [end recording]

In the next part of his speech, Comrade Lubomir Strougal stressed the need for saving liquid fuel, efficient use of the sources of electric power and securing further development of the fuel and power base. He said that the attention of our society must concentrate especially on the development of the coal industry, both in opencast and deep mines. He then went on to acquaint those present at the aktiv in detail with the measures for further deepening of social care, living and working conditions of the working people in the mining industry, which are designed to strengthen deeply the earning capacities of miners and to improve the material security of the workers who are being transferred to other jobs owing to their health being at risk.

In concluding his address, he expressed the conviction that the miners will answer in their own way to the aforementioned measures: by full support of the CPCZ policy, by further expansion of labor initiative for fulfilling the demanding tasks of this year's plan and in the next years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

Fuel, Energy Workers' Response

LD270104 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] At the conclusion of the all-sector aktiv [of working people in the fuels, energy, metallurgy and heavy-engineering sectors of Ostrava], the participants adopted a letter addressed to the CPCZ Central Committee, the federal government and the Central Council of Trade Unions. The letter says, among other things:

We are fully aware that the implementation of the current tasks in the fuel, power and raw material bases is the basic condition for further development of our socialist homeland. The worsening mining-geological conditions and the increasing requirements on mining demand increased effort for maximum savings and rational utilization of all kinds of fuels, energy and raw materials. That is why we are turning to our entire public with a pressing appeal for strict economies in their consumption. It is with great satisfaction that we accept the new significant assessment of mining work which we received in the past few days from the top party and state organs. We assure you that those present at today's aktiv, as well as all mining collectives will respond to this evaluation with honest creative work and further development of initiative toward fulfilling the demanding tasks for this year as well as of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

COOPERATION MEETING WITH CUBAN OFFICIALS HELD

Delegation Arrives 25 Jan

LD260006 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] A Cuban delegation arrived in Czechoslovakia today for the 7th session of the Czechoslovak-Cuban Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation. It is headed by Joel Domenech Benitez, member of the State Council, vice president of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba. The guests were welcomed by Vaclav Hula, deputy federal premier.

Hula Hosts Talks

LD261532 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] The seventh session of the Czechoslovak-Cuban Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation began today at the Hrzan Palace in Prague. The Czechoslovak delegation to the talks was led by Federal Deputy Premier Vaclav Hula and the Cuban delegation was led by Joel Domenech Benitez, member of the State Council and vice president of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

The committee will assess the results of the development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries and set concrete tasks for the further deepening of economic, scientific, technical and trade contacts for this year and the future.

DZUR, BILAK HOLD TALKS WITH PLO'S ABU JIHAD

Meeting with Dzur

NC260826 (Clandestine) Voice of Palestine in Arabic 0645 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] A delegation of the Higher Military Council of the Palestinian Revolution, led by Deputy Commander in Chief Brother Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir], yesterday held a 2-hour meeting at the Czechoslovak Ministry of National Defense with Czechoslovak Defense Minister Gen Martin Dzur. Also participating in the meeting were Deputy Defense Minister and Chief of Staff General (Sorovmal) and the chief of the Foreign Contacts Section at the Defense Ministry, General Choma.

The Palestinian delegation fully explained the military and political position of the Palestinian revolution and the Israeli threats and concentrations in southern Lebanon. It also explained the circumstances of the Palestinian struggle inside the occupied territory and the ways in which the Palestinian military capabilities could be further strengthened and developed.

The Czechoslovak defense minister expressed the solidarity of the Czechoslovak people and their armed forces with the Palestinian revolution and their armed forces. He emphasized the need to develop and strengthen relations between the two sides in all fields.

Yesterday morning, the delegation of the Higher Military Council of the Palestinian Revolution, accompanied by the PLO representative in Prague, Brother 'Atif Abu Bakr, held a meeting at the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs with First Deputy Minister Comrade Svoboda; the chief of the Middle East department at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, Comrade Dr Jizdny; the chief of the Arab department, Comrade Dzunda; and the chief of the Palestine department, Comrade (Frichik).

The Palestinian delegation fully explained the circumstances of the Palestinian issue, people and revolution on the international, Arab and Palestinian levels. It also explained the circumstances of the Palestinian people who are living under Zionist occupation and reviewed the imperialist and Zionist plots and the hostile designs against the Palestinian issue, the Palestinian people, and the Arab cause.

Meeting With Bilak

JN261916 (Clandestine) Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1745 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] The delegation of the Higher Military Council of the Palestinian Revolution, led by Deputy Commander in Chief Brother Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir], met today with Comrade Vasil Bilak, member of the Federal Assembly's Presidium and of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's [CPCZ] Presidium, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and officer in charge of international relations.

The 2-hour meeting, which took place at the headquarters of the CPCZ Central Committee, dealt with Palestinian, Arab and international developments, possibilities and expectations. The talks also dealt with the development and promotion of Palestinian-Czechoslovak relations.

Brother Abu Jihad talked about the Zionist occupation's oppression and terrorization of our Palestinian people in the occupied territories.

Brother Vasil Bilak expressed appreciation for the heroic struggle being waged by the masses of the Palestinian people inside the occupied territory and the fighters in southern Lebanon against the Camp David plot and the autonomy scheme.

Comrade Vasil Bilak praised the rare heroic confrontation by the Palestinian revolution of the Zionist military occupation and aggressive threats against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

Comrade Bilak affirmed the complete and firm solidarity of the Czechoslovak people, government and party with the Palestinian revolution and its just cause.

HUSAK REPLACES AMBASSADOR TO INDONESIA

LD262322 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the republic, has appointed Milan Koudelka as the new Czechoslovak ambassador to the Indonesian Republic. At the same time he decided to relieve Milan Macha of this post.

CHNOUPEK MEETS WITH CONSULAR OFFICIALS

LD270112 Prague CTK in English 1757 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Bratislava, 26 Jan (CTK) -- Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek pointed at the intentions of imperialist forces, which strive for a new round of the arms race and military superiority, when he met with consular officials here on Tuesday.

Despite the sharpened international situation, world peace was preserved last year due to the constructive policy of all peace-loving nations and the democratic, progressive and realistically thinking forces, he said.

Czechoslovakia consistently asserts the policy of peaceful co-existence, respect for the justified interests of all states, and the development of equitable and mutually advantageous international cooperation.

Bohuslav Chnoupek recalled Czechoslovakia's successes in the systematic promotion of friendship, alliance and cooperation with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular. One of the most important tasks this year is to make progress in the sphere of disarmament and military relaxation, and this applies also to talks on medium-range missiles in Europe, continuation of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, and the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armament in central Europe.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister appreciated last year as a period of creative work of the Czechoslovak people, a year of significant events, especially the 16th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. He stressed the dynamic development of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

KEMPNY ADDRESSES CZECH NATIONAL COUNCIL DEPUTIES

LD260016 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] The third plenary meeting of the Czech National Council's communist deputies' club took place today in Prague. Josef Kempny, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council, reported on fulfillment by organs of the Czech National Council of the conclusions of the Fifth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum. Lubomir Prochazka, head of a department of the CPCZ Central Committee, acquainted the deputies with the progress of implementing the resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on further improving the work of the National Committees and of the organizations administered by them.

COLOTKA ADDRESSES NITRA PEDAGOGIC FACULTY

LD260018 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] The communists of the primary CPSL organization at the Social Sciences Department of the pedagogic faculty in Nitra assessed their activity for the past period at their meeting today. The report of the committee noted that the school manages to fulfill the demands stemming from the reorganization of the educational process, as well as the implementation measures of the new law on universities. Student-communists are expected to deepen their influence further in the coming period and to set an example to other students in fulfilling study tasks and in extracurricular activities.

Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the Slovak premier, stressed at today's discussion at the meeting of the CPSL primary organization at the Social Sciences Department of the pedagogic faculty in Nitra that in the worldwide competition we shall only be able to manage if we utilize efficiently our most important source of development, namely qualified work. He said that the formation of educated, qualified and culturally advanced people, inspired by socialist morality, is a lasting and complex process, starting from school and continuing throughout life.

RUDE PRAVO ON POLITICAL, SOCIOECONOMIC SECURITY

LD230926 Prague CTK in English 0802 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Text] Prague, 23 Jan (CTK) -- The prime target of the Czechoslovak Communist Party policy is to maintain the living standard of the people and their social certainties in tune with the results of the national economy and in the much more difficult external and internal conditions, RUDE PRAVO said today in its editorial.

Every reasonsable person knows that the development of the living standard does not depend on a subjective desire, but on the creation of values. Policy in this respect must be realistic and secure the present and future requirements of the Czechoslovak people.

People need much more than rising material consumption for contented life and attention is thus focused "on the qualitative aspects of production and the living standard. This includes the strengthening of social certainties, development of education and culture, health care, care of the family, mother and child, constant improvement of the working and living milieu, shaping of comradely relations in the work team and between people, and formation of the socialist way of life."

The working people of Czechoslovakia know that a job is secured for them, that care is taken of their children, and that they will be given help in sickness and old age. They enjoy the social, economic, political and legal certainties provided by socialism, This is a totally different feeling from that of the working people in the major part of the world, RUDE PRAVO concluded.

BRIEFS

NEW ENVOY TO SWITZERLAND -- In Prague, Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, received Lumir Hanak, newly-appointed Czechoslovak ambassador to the Swiss Confederation, before the beginning of his tour of duty. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 13 Jan 82 LD]

ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR BEGINS DUTIES -- Vasil Bilak, member of the Federal Assembly Presidium and CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, received today the Romanian ambassador in Czechoslovakia, Cornel Panzary, on the occasion of his inauguration to the office. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 15 Jan 82 LD]

E. BERLIN REPORTS REAGAN'S STATE OF UNION SPEECH

LD270926 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 0700 GMT 27 Jan 82

[Text] U.S. President Reagan last night informed the American public that they must be prepared for economically difficult times. In a State of the Union speech, Reagan, as he said himself, drew a not very encouraging picture of economic development.

He announced on the occasion his intention to dismiss 75,000 civil service employees before the end of this year. In order to take the burden off the heavily [word indistinct] federal budget, it is planned, according to Reagan, to make the financing of state social programs amounting to $47 billion the responsibility of the states and communities which are already suffering from a shortage of funds.

In the foreign policy part of his speech, Reagan reaffirmed that the United States intends to conduct the disarmament talks with the USSR from a position of strength. This included higher spending on arms. The U.S. President further threatened Poland with more sanctions if the situation there did not change to the satisfaction of the United States. Furthermore, he openly announced a harsh approach toward revolutionary movements in the Caribbean region.

Assessment of First Year

DW261315 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1811 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Guenther Leuschner's weekly foreign policy review: "The World Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] One year has now passed since the current American Government took over. If you take a look at what has been written in the bourgeois media in this connection, the balance is anything but pleasant. Even those who were jubilant about the Reagan team, particularly because of its fierce anticommunism, cannot ignore the negative balance either.

You must admit that the Americans are worse off after 1 year than they were before -- recession, growing unemployment, increasing state debts, the same high interest rates -- the opposite of what was promised to the people. None of the miraculous economic measures has shown an effect, with the exception of the formula that the rich must become richer and the poor poorer, and this is how it will probably remain for the time being.

Observers of this scene agree almost unanimously that if the picture does not change by early summer, you will have to reckon with the acute danger of a hot summer in the capitals of the East, the Middle West and the West due to the people giving vent to their rage in demonstrations or even worse action. The most rightist FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE writes that the only sector that is really prospering under Reagan is the arms industry. How can you contradict that? The same paper comes to an interesting conclusion in the article just quoted. It writes that in these 12 months the government has realized that neither American domestic nor foreign policies can be pursued according to election slogans, but that they must be adapted to certain facts created by the economy and the real forces of world policy.

This sounds fine, but is it really true that this has been realized? If this were the case, the people bearing responsibility in the United States would be acting in the meantime against their better judgment, because not in the economic field, let alone the foreign political field, can you feel any practical consequences emanating from adaptation to realities.

Or was Washington's veto in the UN Security Council Realpolitik -- a veto against a motion demanding effective measures against the annexation of the Golan Heights by the Israeli Government? Again it was good friends of the United States who were shaking their heads in noting that in making this decision Washington has lost more of its credibility.

How can you explain the embarrassing fact which is almost unique in the history of diplomacy, namely, that the Vatican was forced to dissociate itself from a statement by the American President when he said that the pope approved the American policy of sanctions with regard to Poland. The intentional falsification of a confidential letter from the pope -- it cannot be described in other terms -- does not show a sense of realities but rather the stubborn will to continue to disregard these realities and force American concepts on the whole world instead.

The question of whether American policy is credible or not is actually of secondary significance. The people everywhere in the world are much more worried by concern as to where the current American course will lead. Does anybody in the United States really believe that socialism can be forced to its knees with the help of economic sanctions? Or is all this actually aimed at keeping the allies under control and weakening them in the fight of increasing competition in capitalism?

I do not know which answer is correct. If the first assumption is correct, it would demonstrate a lacking sense of realities which would make one ask whether such wishful thinking could bring about other, graver decisions.

With regard to the recent sanctions, this form of interference has been sharply rejected at the recent CEMA Executive Committee meeting which stressed at the same time that the CEMA members will give all necessary help to the Polish people to overcome their difficulties. Anyone who knows us even a little will also know that these are not empty phrases.

But if the other possibility were correct -- namely, that such sanctions are supposed to keep its own camp, the Western camp under control -- the allies of the United States ought to give some thought to the final aims of this intention.

Let us take another Washington method of forcing its will on others. Upon request of the United States, the NATO countries want to misuse the Madrid CSCE talks opening on 9 February to debate Polish affairs. The Warsaw Foreign Ministry has stated in connection with this intention that it would endanger the results of the Madrid meeting and thus the continuation of the entire process of the all-European conference. The informed know that this is not a mere assumption.

The Madrid conference depends on the West's yes or no regarding the calling of a European disarmament conference. Since the beginning of the Madrid talks, this disarmament conference has been a thorn in the side of Washington. Since all earlier attempts have failed, it is all too obvious that Poland is now supposed to serve as a pretext for preventing military detente measures on our continent. It is the more surprising that other NATO states play this game, which involves more than just a few cheap propaganda moves. The Madrid conference is in such a ticklish phase that success or failure hangs by a silk thread, so to speak, so that burdening this conference with irrelevant problems could destroy all the temporary successes achieved in months of hard work. It also pertains to the so-called humanitarian problems frequently quoted by Western politicians.

One has the impression lately that some U.S. allies tend to somehow evade Washington's massive pressure regarding curtailment of East-West trade by directing this pressure at other areas, such as the Madrid conference, for example. It would mean, to put it plainly, sacrificing at least temporarily military detente and disarmament measures in order to save something for oneself somewhere else. One can hardly imagine a worse alternative. And in addition it is wrong and will not achieve anything.

A commentary in today's NEUES DEUTSCHLAND says that those who let themselves be cornered by a narrow-minded and unpredictable U.S. policy will not get out of that corner with such tactics. The slope will then lead steeply downward.

Why is it oftentimes so difficult for reasonable Western politicians to rely on the mood and opinion of their own population's majority? They have become more and more concerned in the past 12 months by U.S. foreign policy, while the will was growing simultaneously to do something against the arms race and for disarmament.

The Hamburg SPD emphasized this last weekend its demand for a nuclear-free zone in Europe. The chain of such demands is becoming longer and longer, and not just in the Federal Republic. Why does one not adopt such wishes instead of resisting them, as in Hamburg? If you simply discard the idea of a nuclear-free zone in Europe as being unrealistic, do you not then already stand in the corner where Washington wants you to be? It is hard to advocate moderation on the one hand while agreeing on the other with a scenario that practically enables the United States to act in the world as it wants. Such tactics will not pay. Times are too dangerous for that. Most people in Western Europe feel this, but do all politicians really feel it also?

HONECKER SENDS CONDOLENCES ON DEATH OF SUSLOV

LD262234 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1803 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Berlin, 26 Jan, (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent a telgram of condolences to Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the death of Mikhail Suslov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. On behalf of the communists and the entire people of the GDR, and in my own name, I express our deepest communist sympathy at this grievous loss suffered by the Soviet communists, the Soviet people and the international communist and labor movement, the telegram says.

Suslov's death has brought to an end the life of an outstanding representative of the party and country of Lenin, and the successful work of decades for the ideals of socialism and peace by a proven and respected official of the international communist movement, the telegram continues. Our party and our people respect and honor Mikhail Andreyevich Suslov as a party and state official of the Lenin type and as a creative Marxist-Leninist theoretician and politician. As a fervent advocate of the revolutionary doctrine of the working class and of proletarian internationalism, he earned lasting merit in the consolidation of the international communist and labor movement.

His active, comradely work for the constant consolidation of fraternal ties between our two parties, states and peoples will never be forgotten in our socialist German Democratic Republic, the telegram states. For his contribution to the development of the fighting alliance between the CPSU and the SED and of cooperation between the USSR and the GDR, Suslov was awarded the Karl-Marx Order, the GDR's highest decoration.

ITALIAN CP RESOLUTION TERMED 'INCOMPREHENSIBLE'

LD261016 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0333 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Berlin, 26 Jan (ADN) -- Today's issue of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND describes as incomprehensible a resolution passed this month by the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party. In a commentary entitled "The Stronger Socialism Is, the More Secure Peace Is," the newspaper writes: "Today it is more important than ever that all those who are for the secure, good-neighborly coexistence of all people on our planet should act together to prevent mankind from sliding into those unknown regions into which they could be plunged by the irresponsible acts of imperialist politicians of violence."

"In this situation all peace-loving people are filled with hope and strength by the fact that the Soviet Union, together with the countries of the socialist community and in accordance with its peace program, puts all its weight and all its authority behind the thwarting of the imperialist policy of confrontation and shows a real alternative to the nuclear inferno. The liberated peoples of all continents are increasingly determined in their support for strengthening peace as an indispensible precondition for their independence and the lasting safeguard of their national interests."

Referring to the powerful peace movement in the capitalist countries, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND goes on: "It is all the more incomprehensible that in this very situation the Italian Communist Party leadership, at the January plenum of its Central Committee, passed a resolution which, in all decisive respects, is in contradiction to the main forces of peace. In plenum speeches and resolutions the decades-old peace policy of the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community -- a policy which after all has played a decisive role in giving the peoples of Europe the longest period of peace on our continent" this century -- is practically negated."

"But more importantly, at the Italian Communist Party's Central Committee plenum, the monstrous contention was developed that the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the member states of the Warsaw Pact is no different from that of the United States and NATO. There could be nothing more nonsensical than this. In the face of all the facts and the experiences of the peoples, NATO's long-term program for arms buildup is equated with socialism's peace program." This equation "is aimed against the basis of the peoples' struggle for international security and peaceful coexistence."

"The leadership of the Italian Communist Party," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND continues, "has taken the tragic events in Poland as the immediate cause for working out its platform. In its platform, the Italian Communist Party criticizes the very thing it has been demanding for the past 18 months: the solution of the Polish problems by the Poles themselves. In so doing the Italian Communist Party interferes in the crudest way in the affairs of the PZPR and makes a series of demands, although it claims for itself the natural right of every party to determine its own policy."

"The way the resolution is formulated shows that the tragic situation in Poland is only a pretext for the Italian Communist Party to prop up its well-known policy," the commentary says, referring to the fact that the situation in Poland has been elevated into a crisis of the world socialist system". The claim that the period of socialist development ushered in by the October Revolution is now exhausted is "a strange remark in view of the fact that for virtually 65 years the ideas of the October Revolution have represented the basis of the three main revolutionary currents of the present... He who wishes to convince himself today of the influence of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin need only review the changes in the world which were initiated by the October Revolution."

"We have the influence of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin to thank for the fact that on four of the five continents there are countries in which there is neither inflation nor unemployment, in which the right to education and relaxation for all workers is being implemented in ever more comprehensive ways," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes.

When in the first years of socialist construction in the GDR the class enemy again and again prophesied collapse, "the Italian Communist Party expressed its solidarity with us at a time when our socialism was less than perfect. Now, under the SED leadership, our people have created a blossoming socialist country, a bastion of freedom in the center of Europe, a stable, strong socialist state with a dynamic economy which serves solely the welfare of the people... What then should the workers, the GDR citizens think of such presumptuous claims which, as is well-known, all Western radio and television stations use to justify their anticommunist campaign."

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND goes on: "Denigration of the socialist states and of their unwavering peace policy can only serve the ends of imperialism. Imperialism sees its prime aim in weakening real socialism, the communist parties and the peace movement in order to further its policy of nuclear arms buildup and military superiority, in order to subject peoples to its interests in the pursuit of profit and power."

The newspaper writes in the commentary: "Peoples judge politicians and parties in the present international situation not by their capacity for slandering the socialist countries, but by their support for peace and detente. The fraternal parties and governments of the socialist community have made constructive proposals on this. Together with all the forces pursuing peace and reason, they will fight for this great aim until it has been achieved."

BUDAPEST REPORTS ON REAGAN ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

LD270932 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 27 Jan 82

[Text] The U.S. President has dealt mainly with domestic political issues in his congressional message. However, he also referred to a few foreign political subjects. Istvan Kulcsar, our correspondent in New York, reports on the details:

[Begin recording] In the very brief part of his speech on foreign policy, Reagan stated that the United States would have to restore its former military position and that it should speak to the USSR from a position of strength. At the same time, he said that his administration was a supporter of disarmament and that proposals to that effect had been submitted to the USSR.

As on a number of occasions before, the President charged Cuba and Libya with exporting revolution. He described the Polish Government as a military dictatorship and threatened it and the USSR, which stands behind it, with further sanctions if as he put it, the situation were to further deteriorate in Poland.

Speaking about the economic position of the United States, Reagan blamed the previous administrations for the current difficulties and promised a radical recovery. He said that there were no plans to make up the budget deficit by increasing taxes. Instead of that, a number of social welfare and health programs are to be further reduced or these are to be devolved from the federal sphere of authority to individual states and local authorities. Reagan plans to carry out this wide-ranging reform, which he describes as revolutionary, over a period of 10 years. To prevent criticism, the President stated that his government would not turn its back on the poor and the elderly. [end recording]

TBILISI ECONOMIC TALKS CONTINUE 26 JAN

LD261146 Budapest MTI in English 1038 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Tbilisi, 26 Jan (MTI) -- The 28th session of the Hungarian-Soviet Inter-Governmental Committee for Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation continued on Tuesday with consultations of experts.

Vice-Premier Jozsef Marjai, chairman of the Hungarian section of the committee, and several members of his suite went sightseeing in the Georgian capital Tuesday morning. Jozsef Marjai was accompanied by Vice-Premier Nikolay Talyzin, chairman of the Soviet section of the committee.

TRADE ACCORD WITH NIGERIA SIGNED 26 JAN

LD270010 Budapest MTI in English 1728 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Budapest, 26 Jan (MTI) -- Hungarian Deputy Minister Tibor Melega of foreign trade and Nigeria's Ambassador Dr Sylvanus Aloysius Ndulue Eneduanya to Warsaw signed a commercial agreement here today. It provides for mutual application of the most favoured nations principle and for joint commission sessions to promote bilateral economic links.

BRIEFS

MSZMP OFFICIAL IN PARIS -- Budapest, 21 Jan (MTI) -- Gyula Horn, deputy head of the HSWP CC Foreign Affairs Department, paid a visit to Paris between January 18 and 21. He met Jacques Huntzinger, member of the French Communist Party Executive Committee and secretary for foreign affairs, Maxime Gremetz, member of the French Communist Party Political Committee and secretary of the CC, and several representatives of the French Foreign Affairs Ministry. They discussed current international issues and problems of interest for both parties. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT 21 Jan 82 LD]

FURTHER ON 25-26 JAN SEJM SESSION EVENTS

26 Jan Session

LD261004 Warsaw PAP in English 0920 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jan (PAP) -- The Polish Sejm (parliament) resumed its meeting today after 9 a.m. The meeting is attended by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski. The debates were opened by deputy speaker Halina Skibniewska.

The Sejm proceeded to the next item in the agenda, i.e. examining the report by the Committee for Education and Upbringing and Committee for Legislation on the government's draft law on the teacher's charter.

Sejm Deputy Jozefa Matynkowska spoke of the origin of and works on the teacher's charter and presented the main ideas and key problems included in the draft.

The draft takes into account the remarks and postulates submitted by teachers. The charter is supposed to raise the teacher's status and create better conditions for the functioning of schools and the entire educational system in Poland.

The provisions of the teacher's charter are expected to be put into effect within the next three years. The average teacher's salary is supposed to be no smaller than the average salary of engineers and technicians. The low old-age and disability pensions awarded several years back and calculated on the basis of the then wages will be raised and all teacher old-age and disability pensions are going to be constantly up-dated in step with the growth of (?other) salaries. Moreover, the draft provides for a 25 per cent allowance for those pensions who had engaged in secret courses and the provision will be extended to cover those who taught in Polish to students in the former German Reich and in the free city of Gdansk.

A separate law on national education is supposed to specify a system of social organs within the educational system together with their powers and the system and scope of self-management within the educational system in Poland, the draft says.

The cost of introducing the teacher's charter is estimated at some 40 billion zlotys.

New Ministers, Advisory Body

LD270054 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Correspondents' dispatch]

[Excerpts] The Sejm session was resumed at 0900. Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski were present.

The premier proposed that Jerzy Korzonek be appointed head of the Ministry of Maritime Economy and that Benon Miskiewicz be appointed to the post of minister of science, higher education and technology. He presented the biographies of both candidates. The speaker, Stanislaw Gucwa, informed the deputies that both nominations had been accepted by the appropriate Sejm commissions. The Sejm unanimously approved the proposals put forward by the premier and carried out the changes in the composition of the government.

Here are the biographies of the new ministers:

Jerzy Korzonek was born in 1928 in Lublin to a worker's family. He completed his studies at the department of foreign trade at the Central School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw. In 1972 he was awarded a degree of doctor of economic sciences at Szczecin Technical University. He started his professional work in 1948 at the main office of oil products in Warsaw. In 1958 he was transferred to the post of director of the Szczecin enterprise for trade in oil products. From 1965 he worked in the Szczecin port authority, first as deputy director for economic matters, and from 1975 as the director general. When the Office of Maritime Economy was created he was appointed, on 14 August of last year, to the post of under secretary of state, first deputy minister in charge of the Maritime Economy Office. He is a member of the PZPR, a Sejm deputy and a member of the Sejm Commission on Maritime Economy and Shipping. He has been decorated with the Knight's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta and a gold cross of merit.

Benon Miskiewicz was born in 1930 in Baranowicze to a family of the intelligentsia. He completed his advanced studies at the faculty of philosophy and history of Poznan University and was awarded a degree of doctor of humanities in 1959. In 1970 he was awarded the title of extraordinary professor of humanities and in 1976 the academic title of ordinary professor [as heard]. He is an historian, a specialist in the field of military history.

Next, the Sejm speaker, Stanislaw Gucwa, informed the house that the Sejm Presidium has asked the Commission of Economic Planning, Budget and Finances, the Commission for Legislative Work and the commission on the matters of workers' self-management at enterprises to consider the establishment of a socioeconomic consultative organ attached to the Sejm with an advisory capacity, which would consist of a broad body of representatives of the working class, including some from the large enterprises, peasants and intelligentsia.

The Sejm Presidium, in putting forward this initiative, bore in mind, said the speaker, that the systematic, growing tasks of the Sejm, especially in connection with the realization of the elementary basis of the reform of the management of the national economy, demand broader consultation on the draft acts under consideration and on the decisions made.

Prior to the close of the session at approximately 1430, the deputies were informed of the questions submitted to the Sejm and the Sejm's replies.

Malcuzynski, Szymanowski Speak

LD262008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Excerpts] Here now is a report on yesterday's Sejm debate. Deputy Karol Malcuzynski took the floor:

[Begin Malcuzynski recording] We stand at a special moment in time. Our Sejm is to make a decision on the resolutions which in the history of Poland -- and not only People's Poland -- have occurred for the first time during peacetime and independence. Each of us realizes the enormous responsibility which weighs on us. The content and tone of the premier's speech demonstrate this clearly. [end recording]

[Announcer] Referring to Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski's statement that the introduction of martial law was the choice of a lesser e il, the deputy expressed a critical view of the propaganda, particularly on television, reproaching it for presenting martial law almost as a state of bliss. The Polish community, he said, tormented by problems of everyday life, is at present additionally moved by the fate of the interned trade union activists, advisers and some representatives of the world of science and culture.

Is the fact, asked the deputy, that we were not able to eliminate the state of tension and crisis by legal means a cause for satisfaction, as presented by television? It is, rather, a cause to ponder on why we lost the great chance of renewal, and how we can make good that chance. This can only come through dialogue between the authorities and the various social forces.

Further on in his speech, Deputy Malcuzynski said:

[Begin recording] What role falls to us, the Sejm? Is it only to come out for or against the decrees of the Council of State? Or is it to give expression to the moods which perturb social opinion, to its opposition, anxieties and concerns?

If the Sejm does not fulfill this role, it will disappoint the hopes of the community and will undermine its authority, which was won with considerable difficulty. Even more important than the otherwise important reflections on the legal bases for issuing the decrees is the question: What sort of Poland will emerge form this state of martial law? Will it be a continuation -- as presented to us by the premier in his many earlier statements -- of the social accords; or will it be a completely different alternative: emergence from martial law into a state of civil dictatorship, into a state or programmatic confrontation with the community, a state of final loss of this great (?change). [end recording]

[Announcer] Mentioning the recent meeting between representatives of the government and representatives of the Episcopate, the deputy recalled that the government stated that it is not the authorities' intention to take revenge. Unfortunately, stated the deputy, such actions have taken place. In this context, the verification of cadres in various institutions -- including the mass media -- for example, the signing of declarations of loyalty, in the opinion of Karol Malcuzynski are morally and politically detrimental, and are a continuation of the inglorious, negative national selection.

The speaker dealt separately with the problem of social associations and creative unions, stating that their suspension -- like the internment of some persons -- is, according to his opinion, an excessive action not justified by needs. With whom can one consult -- he asked -- on important matters, such as for example the price rise, since neither the trade unions nor the social organizations now function?

Further in his speech, the deputy doubted that the fears that freeing the internees, revoking the martial law, would cause a return of social tensions and anxieties. He argued that the experience of recent events -- as well as the activity of the Sejm -- provides a guarantee of the continuation of calm dialogue.

In conclusion, Deputy Karol Malcuzynski said:

[Begin recording] Many youth circles unfortunately use the language of the Resistance Movement of Conspiracy [name of resistance movement during World War II]. For all of us who survived the tragic years of occupation, the tragedy of the Warsaw uprising, this language and this way of thinking are bound to arouse fear and utmost concern. Let us not forget that 60 percent of our nation are young people aged less than 30; they do not have the same experience as we do; they do not know what the threat of civil war or external intervention means; and they are ready to disregard all these dangers with youthful bravery and recklessness.

People who are alien to the sense of responsbility for the fate of the nation could play on these attitudes which, as has been said here, have been programmed -- so to speak -- in the hearts and minds of the young generation by us ourselves, by our education system; on those [words indistinct] who seek an answer to the questions of which and of what kind should Polish patriotism be in today's Poland? We must do our utmost to avoid another national tragedy.

Every day that passes under martial law increases those dangers. Radicalization of attitudes, especially among the youth, could trigger desperate and irresponsible actions. And these in turn would intensify repressive actions. A vicious spiral will be created from which it could be difficult to find a peaceful way out.

You, prime minister, and your government are faced with a historic -- in the proper meaning of the word -- choice. If you continue consistently -- with the same consistency as has so far been shown even during the state of martial law, which of course should be reduced as much as possible in the national interest -- if you continue this line of dialogue and agreement, not easy to implement today, as I am fully aware; if you chase from everywhere, from the corridors of power and from elsewhere, those who advocate revenge and confrontation -- then you can rely on the support of sound and responsible forces of the nation and certainly on a response from society. [end recording]

[Announcer] That was what Deputy Malcuzynski had to say. Here now is what Deputy Janusz Szymanowski said:

[Begin recording] We are to blame that calm reigns in Poland. If there was shooting Reagan would not loose his cool. But he had everything set. He had his scenario prepared. And being an old film actor from western films [applause] he knows that everything should go according to the scenario.

Now, the President of the country which not so long ago emerged from a long war with a little nation which was defending its freedom -- it emerged from a horrible war, a war where more bombs were dropped on Vietnam than during the whole of World War II; they sprayed with napalm, to no avail; they taught American democracy and failed; they lost in Vietnam, -- the same President, who knows perfectly well from reports of his special services how many people are being murdered in Central American or South American republics, the same President decided to teach us democracy.

Unfortunately there is a snag: Quite simply, the fellow does not know the Polish mentality. He could not have done anything better to mobilize us all aganst him. We hate to have somebody lecturing us. [applause] We often do not do the right thing, just because it was presented to us. One must be very careful with Poles, and often one must push them to the right in order to make them go left. [end recording]

Jaruzelski Speech Viewed

LD261514 Warsaw PAP in English 1411 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jan (PAP) -- In a frontpage column the ZYCIE WARSZAWY daily published a commentary by its editor-in-chief Zdzislaw Morawski on the address by Prime Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered in the Polish Sejm (parliment) yesterday.

The commentary stressed that the general's speech included what Poland has been waiting for, i.e. a programme, in which "Polish impotence" was rejected in clear and firm words, the impotence which was a burden on our national psyche as grave as political madness which many times in the past ended dramatically. This time we have avoided the worst. But the bitter questions that were asked from the speaker's platform in the Sejm were not groundless: How possibly it could have come to this that we have found ourselves where we are now?

The commentary said that "General Jaruzelski's address, while not passing in silence over the causes and results of our present position, was oriented towards future. It presented concrete plans which are to improve the mechanism of the functioning of the socialist state and prevent it from the loss of independence, included a programme of legislative initiatives, proposals for establishing new bodies which would deepen the experience and content of socialist democracy. It presented the programme of overcoming the economic crisis on the basis of the reform. It also presented a social and political programme which with reference to the relation between the authorities and the society can be summarized as follows:

"There are no better and worse Poles. There are only those who work for the motherland and others who are nuisance. We shall ask no one where he has come from as long as he honestly contributes to clearing and rebuilding the common home," the commentary concludes.

SEJM COMMISSIONS ON FOREIGN TRADE, CULTURE MEET

LD262156 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Immediately after the conclusion of the plenary debates of the Sejm, the Commission of Foreign Trade acquainted itself with the situation in foreign trade and the functioning of the Ministry of Foreign Trade under the conditions of martial law.

After 13 December the Western states blocked all our credit channels, active on the basis of contracts concluded much earlier. In this situation, minister of foreign trade and Sejm deputy Nestorowicz said, all our trade with the Western states in the current quarter is taking place for cash. Despite this the plan for this quarter seems to be fully realistic. Cautious optimism is aroused by the improvement, observed for some time, in the delivery of coal for export.

In the situation with which we have been confronted by the restrictions of the Western countries, the socialist states are giving us considerable aid. With most of these Poland has already signed annual trade protocols. Talks with Bulgaria, the GDR and Hungary are in progress.

The Sejm Commission for Culture and Art has also met. Resolutions for the chairman of the Council of Ministers on publishing production and on funds for the protection of monuments in the current year were adopted.

FISHING VESSELS MUST DEPART U.S. WATERS

LD270038 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 27 Jan 82

[Text] As a result of the decision by President Ronald Reagan, 28 Polish trawlers and 2 fishing transport vessels have had to leave U.S. fishing waters. Twenty-three boats have sailed for the Pacific, outside the 200-mile zone of Mexico, three are undergoing repairs and two are getting ready to sail for home.

The Maritime Economy Office has approached the Soviet Union asking that Polish fishing boats be able to operate in the Soviet zone of the Bering Sea.

GROMYKO-HAIG 26 JAN TALKS IN GENEVA REPORTED

PAP Report

LD262218 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] A meeting of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko and U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig took place in Geneva today. Here is a dispatch by Jerzy Wankowicz from PAP:

The talks were supposed to have dealt with the fixing of a date for the resumption of the Soviet-U.S. SALT talks and for an exchange of views on the results to date and prospects for the bilateral negotiations concerning limitation of medium-range nuclear missiles on the European Continent at present underway in Geneva. It was impossible to exhaust this topic in view of the attitude of the U.S. secretary of state, who restricted the meeting to 1 day and refused to embark on business-like disarmament talks. He tried to exploit the meeting for an artificial combining of problems related to Poland's internal situation and Soviet-U.S. relations.

The Soviet side has firmly rejected the U.S. suggestion to discuss Poland's domestic affairs, considering it as an expression of the continuation of impermissible pressure on the independent Polish state. Such pressure is incompatible with the letter and spirit of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act and the elementary norms of international relations.

During the Geneva talks the Soviet side has emphasized the enormous danger to world peace ensuing from the active striving by the United States to attain strategic superiority, which is contrary to the principle of the balance of forces recognized by both sides. The U.S. plans to expand its nuclear medium-range arsenal in Western Europe, its failure to ratify the SALT II agreement and its embarking on a long-range program for the escalation of armaments are contributing to the upsetting of the international equilibrium and to the exacerbation of the internationl situation.

Arguing with the U.S. administration's stance as presented in Geneva according to which the USSR is well ahead of the United States as reagrds strategic arms, the Soviet diplomatic mission in Geneva has furnished journalists with documents that point out that experts from both sides have in the course of the SALT II talks fully confirmed the existence of an approximate equilibrium in strategic nuclear armaments.

The documents confirm at the same time the existence of an equilibrium with regard to medium-range nuclear weapons and a balance between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries with regard to conventional arms.

Papers View Meeting

LD261502 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jan (PAP) -- Commenting on the Haig-Gromyko talks which begin in Geneva today the dailies stress the fact that the previously planned two-day round of talks has been reduced by the U.S. side to a one-day meeting.

"The Americans were in no hurry to the disarmament negotiations in Geneva," wrote Karol Szyndzielorz in ZYCIE WARSZAWY. "They have no desire of getting involved in talks on the limitation of strategic arms because they have just begun to develop their nuclear potential. They must, however, be aware of the fact that the arms race, this including strategic arms, is a system of communicating vessels. What's more, so much time has been wasted since the signing of the SALT II treaty [as received] that it is very unlikely for diplomacy ever to keep pace with accomplished facts in armaments."

"The principle of regular meetings between the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States had been observed even in times of tension," ZYCIE WARSZAWY continued. "Two weeks ago Haig claimed that in order to prevent conflicts, it was particularly necessary to talk. Now he had come to Geneva because he could not back out of the schedule. It would be a pity if this chance for an open discussion on the fate of the world were to to be foresaken," the daily said in the end.

"Disarmament treaties are not gifts which the respective sides exchange," said another daily, RZECZPOSPOLITA in its commentary on the Geneva meeting. "They are dictated by their own interests as they stabilize the security of the great powers and world peace."

Referring to Haig's intention of discussing mainly the Polish issue at his meeting with Gromyko, RZECZPOSPOLITA said that "the situatin in Poland can in no way be regarded as threatening international stability and security in Europe. Also for this reason American attempts to internationalize the Polish issue have no justification. The same applies to referring to the Polish issue as a pretext for stopping the East-West disarmement dialogue.

JARUZELSKI SENDS CONDOLENCES ON DEATH OF SUSLOV

LD262222 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2127 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Excerpt] In connection with the death of Mikhail Suslov, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has sent a telegram of condolences to Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

RED CROSS OFFICIALS MEET WITH DETAINEES

NC261928 Paris AFP in English 1920 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Geneva, 26 Jan (AFP) -- Two delegates from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), accompanied by representatives of the Polish Red Cross, met with detainees at two camps in Poland over the past week, the ICRC said today.

An ICRC statement said the two delegates distributed a total of 525 packages of sanitary products to 242 prisoners at Goldap, 200 kms (125 miles) south of Warsaw, and to 245 prisoners at Bialoleka, in the Warsaw suburbs, on January 22 and 24.

The visits, authorized by Polish authorities on January 21, conformed to ICRC rules -- that delegates meet with the prisoners at the camps, that they be allowed to repeat the visits and that they be allowed to meet with the prisoners out of the presence of witnesses.

COURTS HAND DOWN DISOBEDIENCE, ASSAULT SENTENCES

LD262234 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2127 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] We learn from the Ministry of Justice press spokesman that the courts have passed more sentences under summary procedure. For encouraging disobedience to the decrees issued by a state organ the Warsaw Court has sentenced Krzysztof Olko to 4 years' imprisonment and loss of civic rights for 3 years.

The court in Piotrkow Trybunalski has sentenced Wojciech Prymus to 3 years' imprisonment and loss of civic rights for 2 years. The sentenced man assaulted a soldier on guard duty.

FORMER DEPUTY PREMIER KAIM, SECRETARY ON TRIAL

LD262038 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] In Warsaw regional court the trial of former Deputy Premier and Minister of Metallurgy Franciszek Kaim and his secretary Elzbieta Wasinska has begun. In view of the nonappearance of the accused man at the trial the court decided to postpone the session and asked the commandant of the capital's Citizens' Militia for information as to when the currently interned Franciszek Kaim may be brought to court.

The indictment accuses the former deputy premier of handing to his secretary 5 blank tokens for car purchase and $120. Elzbieta Wasinska is accused of trading with car tokens.

During the investigation Franciszek Kaim pleaded not guilty, in contrast to his secretary who is giving evidence while still at liberty.

LARD TO BE SUBSTITUTED FOR SOME BUTTER RATIONS

LD262226 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2127 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] The Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services announces that in connection with the insufficient procurement of milk and the country's payment difficulties there is no possibility of importing the same quantity of butter this year as was imported last year.

The shortage in January amounted to 3,000 tons. In order to compensate the population at least in part for the butter shortage, it has been decided to place other animal fats on the market. This is possible because of the recently increased procurement of pigs and the additional purchases from socialist countries. In February, for a transitional period, butter rations partly substituted with lard will be introduced.

RESUMPTION OF GAS SALES TO PRIVATE CAR OWNERS

LD251506 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers has decided to resume, as of 1 February, the sale of ethylene to private car owners. It will be on limited sale. This is essential in the face of the acute deficit of liquid fuels which will unfortunately occur in 1982.

The painful effects of this deficit on the population and on the economy occurred last year. The main reason was the halt to imports of petroleum and fuels from the second payments areas [dollar zone], paid for in foreign currency. We still are without these resources.

The introduced system of sales of car fuels will be in force for 2 months: February and March. In this period, a new system of buying fuels will be prepared, taking into consideration both the needs of private vehicle users as well as the experiences accumulated from the introduced form of sales. By March, the possibilities of additional imports of petroleum and fuels will be elucidated. As of 1 February, private consumers will be able, in the course of 1 month, to buy gasoline 3 times, on an average of every 10 days. For cars with an engine capacity up to 900 cc, it will be possible to buy, according to the prices in force up to now, 10 liters of gasoline at one time; and for cars with a capacity above 900 cc, 15 liters.

Gasoline will be bought on the day on which the final digit of the registration number of the car corresponds to the final digit of the calendar day. For instance, a car owner with a registration number [word indistinct] ending in 1, will be eligible to buy gasoline on the 1st, 11th and 21st of the month; with a number ending in 2, on 2d, 12th and 22d of the month, and so on. On 1 March, gasoline can be bought for cars with numbers ending in 9, 0 and 1, and on 31 March, there will be a ban on gasoline buying.

The right to purchase ethylene will be confirmed by petroleum products agency stations by a date stamped on the form for the car insurance payment in 1981. Private personal and luggage taxis are authorized to buy engine fuels on the principles in force to date. At the same time, on the day of starting sales of engine fuels to private car users, the authorizations issued by them for the purchase of ethylene before that day loses validity.

The detailed regulations for the purchase of liquid fuels will be published by the Main Inspectorate of the power economy.

GLEMP, CHURCH OFFICIALS TO VISIT VATICAN

NC271313 Paris AFP in English 1304 GMT 27 Jan 82

[Text] Vatican City, 27 Jan (AFP) -- Archbishop Jozef Glemp, the Roman Catholic primate of Poland, will visit the Vatican on February 4, Polish Church sources said here today.

He will be accompanied by Cardinal Franciszek Macharsky, the archbishop of Krakow and vice-president of the Polish Conference of Bishops, and Msgr Henryk Golbinowicz, the archbishop of Wroclaw.

RAKOWSKI, WIEJACZ ON WARSAW PRESS CONFERENCE

AU251510 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jan 82 p 7

[Ludwik Arendt and Piotr Moczar report: "The Press Conference With Foreign Journalists at the Press Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw" -- in which Deputy Premier Rakowski and Under Secretary of State Wiejacz take part]

[Text] The 18 January Warsaw press conference for foreign journalists was devoted to appraising Poland's sociopolitical situation and the prospects for its development.

The press conference was attended by Deputy Premier M. Rakowski and Jozef Wiejacz, Under Secretary of State of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Presenting his viewpoint on the course of events in Poland, M. Rakowski said that the introduction of martial law had been necessary because all the political resources available to the government to stop the process of dismantling the economy and the structures of the state and to prevent the passionate aspirations of many Solidarity activists to promote the struggle for power were exhausted.

Many warnings addressed to Solidarity's leading echelons were equally unsuccessful, M. Rakowski continued. For example, they held cheap the government draft law on "extraordinary measures to protect the citizens and the state" submitted to the state. Premier W. Jaruzelski described our situation as catastrophic when speaking in the Sejm on 30 October. "Our country," he said, "has found itself at a critical point, and the economic disarray is continuing. The structures of the state are being undermined from within. The social ties and the bonds between towns and rural areas, which have taken years to build, are tottering. License, lawlessness and strike madness are becoming a way of life for us. Continuous tension, never-ending demands and efforts to fan the hatred for state power, socialism and our natural allies -- all this is injuring not only the material, but also the psychological and moral fiber of the nation. Polish families have to increasingly contend with want, helplessness and the fear of tomorrow. This way of life is no longer possible."

However, M. Rakowski said, we had to live for another 45 days under such ever deteriorating conditions.

He recalled his interview for PAP on 1 December, in which he said inter alia: "No one should interpret our intensive efforts to reach national agreement as a manifestation of weakness. This would be a fatal error." But this fatal error was committed, he said.

Commenting on the work of the Western media, M. Rakowski said that today they were dealing very actively with every detail, even with rumors, and he acknowledged that the Western journalists in Poland before 13 December had reluctantly pointed out that Poland was sliding down an inclined plane. Perhaps, he said, if these journalists had been more critical of the moves by Solidarity extremists, the severe situation could have been avoided.

Radio Free Europe allows itself to practice more than hostile propaganda, he said, by supplying detailed instructions on how to set up conspiratorial groups in Poland. It is interesting to speculate, he added, what initiatives that station will present in the future.

The introduction of martial law, M. Rakowski continued, was no doubt a shock for Polish society, although some sections of it spoke loudly about the inevitability of such a measure. From the viewpoint of the immediate and long-term interests of the Polish state and the preservation of its integrity and sovereignty, the shock, I think, was necessary. It was necessary to stop the crowded train speeding toward an abyss. This aim has been achieved.

Martial law has put an end, above all, to the destruction of the Polish economy and in this way has taken under its protection the existence of millions and millions of people. But for martial law it is beyond any doubt that -- given the conscious destruction of the most vital fibers of our economy -- more Polish children would not have survived this winter.

The state of martial law introduced on 13 December has opened for Poland a favorable period to enable its national economy to return to a state of normality, M. Rakowski said. The normal rhythm of work is being restored and the cooperative ties, which have been broken off, are being reconstructed. The moral terror practiced against the workers who did not want to strike belongs to the past. The return to a normal situation after several months of increasing anarchy is a very new phenomenon. We must strengthen the foundations of this normal situation and this takes time. That is why we are unable now to state exactly when the state of martial law would end.

Very many politicians and journalists, M. Rakowski continued, continue to ask when the state of martial law in Poland will be liquidated. No politician can now name the exact date for abolishing this state. Nevertheless, we do not regard the present situation as normal. At this point the deputy premier appealed to the journalists at the conference to transmit this part of his statement unabridged, because not so long ago the REUTER agency, commenting on my statement for NBC television, abridged my statement so that it looked as if the Polish Government intended to maintain the state of martial law for only several weeks. This is not the best method of transmitting what one did say in reality, M. Rakowski said. In our country such conduct is called "giving the works."

Martial law, M. Rakowski continued, has eliminated from public life almost all the people who deported themselves as madmen. Some of them consciously and some unconsciously sought armed confrontation, street riots and, consequently, civil war. The elimination in question was done primarily by interning the Solidarity leading teams. The West has demanded that we release the internees at once. This is an unrealistic demand because its fulfillment would merely recreate the situation that existed in Poland before 13 December 1981.

The following observation can be made in connection with the West's criticism of martial law conditions in our country: What would have happened if we had passively watched the development of the situation in Poland and if civil war had broken out? I am afraid, M. Rakowski said, that in such a case the West would have certainly said that we had consciously awaited such a development of events or would have blamed us for not having used a milder solution -- such as martial law, for example -- at the right time. The West's position, especially the intended economic sanctions meant to punish us, have made us concerned, but not even the most brutal pressure will deflect us from our appointed aims, which were clearly, specifically and purposefully formulated by Gen W. Jaruzelski in his 13 December speech. Conditions must be created in our country to make it possible to overcome the crisis and to continue the main lines of socialist renewal. What is at stake is Poland's destiny in the next 10 years and not the fulfillment of the hopes that some Western politicians entertained in connection with the development of Poland's economic and political situation before 13 December.

Those Western politicians who claim the right to define what is and what is not a dialogue and with whom we should conduct it are behaving rather flippantly. Forgive me for this expression.

The introduction of martial law has also put an end to increasing lawlessness and mounting criminality. The madly careening train has been stopped and highly negative phenomena that continued to destroy the Polish organism have been cut out. On the other hand, martial law has not solved Poland's very serious social and economic problems of the eighties. The solution of those problems is a matter for the immediate and more distant future. We will implement the necessary reforms consistently and, at the present stage, to a great extent on the initiative of the central authorities, seeking the citizens' maximum support. We will not give up any rational and justified changes in the country's socioeconomic structures and in our political life.

We are implementing a sweeping program of economic reforms, and it would be good for some politicians to take a careful look at what we are doing in this connection, M. Rakowski said. Various teams charged with drawing up draft laws on important sectors of our social life are working normally. We have not relented our efforts to modernize the country.

We do not regard martial law as something permanent, M. Rakowski reiterated at the end of his statement. We are aware of many of its negative aspects and of the difficulties it is producing. We are not getting attached to the state of martial law. Following profound deliberations and analyses of the situation, each politician who had shared in deciding on martial law asserted that there was no better solution for the country. We live along the Vistula and we want to stay along it -- within the borders fixed after World War II. We want to be a sovereign state, one that determines its destiny by itself.

Next, M. Rakowski and J. Wiejacz replied to a number of detailed questions. Here are some of the replies:

--The Council of State in common, of course, with the Military Council of National Salvation, the PZPR leadership, the leaderships of the allied parties and the government will determine when martial law is to be abolished. This means that the abolition of martial law will be a collective decision, Mr. Rakowski said. There is no place for military dictatorship in our political system. All elements of state power are functioning normally.

--No doubt the introduction of martial law was an event that has dramatically changed the situation in Poland. Of course, the issues involved in socialist renewal had to be relegated to the sidelines in the first days and weeks. We will preserve the essence of renewal, M. Rakowski continued, because Poland needs renewal, and renewal means, among other things, efforts to adapt sociopolitical structures to the level of the development of the means of production and of society's ambitions and inspirations. The new situation after 13 December calls for working out a new concept of national agreement, which is a question of time. At present we are just collecting views on the matter.

--At present talks and discussions are taking place in connection with that concept and the place of trade unionism in our country. M. Rakowski denied the rumors that the authorities intend to set up a single trade union center. The government is collecting trade unionists' views on the future of trade unionism.

--The introduction of martial law shocked all our people, and hardly anyone could be delighted with its consequences. However, reactions varied. There were people who viewed the introduction of martial law most negatively, regardless of opinions on what had been taking place in Poland, but there were also people who welcomed martial law with relief. Generally speaking, older people accepted martial law with greater understanding. Besides, it would be hard to expect that, following the kind of the development of events in the previous 15 months, our society would accept the introduction of martial law either unambiguously negatively or unambiguously positively.

--Continuous contacts are maintained between the government and the church, as attested to by the recent meeting between Gen. W. Jaruzelski and Primate J. Glemp and by the session of the mixed commission of the government and the Episcopate. There is evidence that discussions and exchanges of views are continuing. We regard the church and its role in the country with utmost seriousness. It goes without saying that Primate Glemp has the right to express his own views, and he makes use of this right.

--We have not as yet discussed the pope's visit in August this year. No talks have been held on this subject. However, the pope will be welcomed in our country, M. Rakowski said.

Many questions referred to the talks between government representatives and Lech Walesa. These questions were answered by M. Rakowski, who told the journalists, among other things, that he had not met the Solidarity chairman since 13 December 1981. However, Minister Ciosek had had several talks with Walesa, the subject of which was, inter alia, the previous activity and role of Solidarity, the situation in Poland and Walesa's evaluation of this situation. The future was also discussed, Walesa having spoken at great length and more eagerly about it.

There are answers to other questions:

--There is no doubt that the decisions made by the NATO Ministerial Council on 11 January 1982 are unfavorable for our country and constitute a demonstration of the wish to punish us for the difficult and hard decision to introduce martial law. The NATO countries' position, M. Rakowski stressed, will not promote stabilization of Poland's situation. On the contrary, it may delay the process of overcoming our difficulties. It is a typical paradox that -- while clamoring for normalization -- those countries are actually seeking to prolong martial law in Poland. While normalizing the situation in Poland, we will preserve our own integrity and will not accept the conditions dictated from the outside. It is evident that in Western Europe and the United States new specialist have appeared -- specialists in Polish renewal. My advice to them is to busy themselves with renewal in their own countries or in the countries of their own bloc, which will certainly be a most interesting task. I am no expert in economic affairs, but I know that depriving us of 600,000 tons of U.S. corn will deprive us of 60,000 tons of poultry meat a year.

Our friends in the socialist countries have hastened to help us in our difficult situation. There is every sign that this help will save us.

The economic restrictions applied to us will not force Poland to deviate from the road on which it is treading. Restrictions are directed not only against us. President Reagan wants to punish the USSR, which has been often so "punished" and which has always been able to cope. We will always remember who has helped us and who has wanted our country to flow with blood and perhaps to become a hotbed of some new conflict. At that time religious hymns were sung for us in London and our heroism was praised. I, who was born in this land, have no use for such help.

--A keen observer could have noted with utmost certainty that unrest was violently increasing in Poland in the fall of last year and that the situation was slipping out of control, leading directly to a dangerous and uncontrolled explosion. It is common knowledge that in such a climate the street demonstrations announced for 17 December were bound to end in riots. And if the speeches made by members of the Solidarity leadership were also taken into consideration, it was obvious to me that the crisis would not be solved with the help of traditional political means. At that time people said that Rakowski was spreading fear.

MADEJ CITES SERIOUS RAW MATERIAL SHORTAGES

LD232132 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Jan (PAP) -- "Only a few months ago I (?said) that the situation in the coal mining industry would (?decide) about overcoming the country's crisis. While not discarding the importance of coal for the economy, I now think that the focuspoint has shifted to supplying industry with raw materials and other products imported from hard currency countries," said vice-premier and chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers, Zbigniew Madej, in an interview for PAP.

He continued by saying that "an improvement in the mining industry has [words indistinct] recently. For instance, there is a good chance that coal production in the first quarter of this year will increase by 7 to 8 per cent when compared to the respective period last year." He added that the extraction of sulphur is also expected to go up as compared with the respective quarter of 1981, and so is the cement (by about 5 per cent) and sawn timber production.

"However, the lack of imported raw materials may result in an estimated 15 to 20 per cent fall in production this quarter of the year in the manufacturing industries, and especially in some branches of the machine-building and light industries," said the vice-premier. "There are also some industries whose production capacities are being used only to a negligible extent," he continued.

"This is because since 1971 the flow of hard currency from exports has been decreasing. At the turn of 1981 it has stopped completely -- because the payments on debt installments and interests exceeded the export revenues. That has cut off Poland from the sources of raw materials and other production commodities in the West," Vice-Premier Madej said.

"In view of that we have asked socialist nations for the quickest possible supplies of the materials and commodities traditionally purchased therefrom," said Vice-Premier Madej. "In the first quarter of 1982 we will receive 30 per cent of the raw material supplies contracted for the whole of the year. This stepping up of supplies will allow to better utilize the (?production) capacities of the Polish industry. We have also asked for extra supplies of raw materials hitherto imported from capitalist countries, which met with understanding on the part of our partners.

"The other direction in the talks with socialist countries concerns the utilization of the free production capacities of the Polish industry and the joint completion of Poland's halted investments.

"Our neighbour, the USSR, is a country with a very capacious market. This fact creates great chances for the development of cooperation with that country and for our exports as such. It would be economic blindness not to [word indistinct] such an opportunity," the vice-premier stressed.

We have recently asked our CMEA partners for a so-called grain loan, similar to that we have launched at home. The point is, that in the particularly difficult situation of our country, as U.S. sanctions affected also grain supplies, our import possibilities in this field have been greatly reduced.

"This found its reflection at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the CMEA and in the declaration published afterwards, in which we point out that it is an unusual thing in international realtions to use economic sanctions for one's own political ends, as the U.S. has done.

"Polish history has shown that external threats have had minor effects in Poland. We may have temporary difficulties, but [words indistinct] emerge victorious [words indistinct] will be probably soon that the Western world will (?seek) the lack of Poland in the international division of labour. Despite our difficulties we are still open to economic contacts with the West, both in the financial and technological production fields.

"We are facing a long and intensive cure," said vice-premier Madej in conclusion. "It is necessary to switch the industry to the maximum utilization of domestic resources and for the foreign trade to provide new sources of raw materials which would replace the present, unreliable ones."

OFFICIALS INTERVIEWED ON CURRENT SITUATION

Krzak on Economy

LD231826 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Correspondent Zsolt Zsebesi report]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Jan (MTI) -- Poland wishes to meet her foreign debts by increasing the export of raw materials first of all. They expect considerable currency incomes from the growth of coal, sulphur and copper deliveries, said Marian Krzak, Polish minister of finance, in an interview given to MTI correspondent in Warsaw. The latest figure on debts towards Western countries is 23,200 million dollars. However, it includes a greater number of short-term loans than a year ago. Though U.S. and Western European sanctions and freezing talks on credits and returning them have a serious influence on Polish economy, they proved to be a double-edged weapon, said Finance Minister Krzak. It seems to be proved by the fact that Western bankhouses, despite their governments' prohibitive measures, are ready to resume financial negotiations.

The serious situation of the country forces us to assess more thoroughly our internal reserves and to exploit the untouched resources. It has been considerably supported, first of all, by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries within the scope of the CMEA.

Besides the upset external economic balance of Poland, the reorganization of producers' and consumers' market relations constitute a serious problem. It is aimed by the consumers' price reform under process and the adjustment of producers' prices already done, as parts of the economic reform. Financial relations, bank, credit and tax systems are to play a more important role in economic management recently introduced than earlier. Profitability is to be a target of the production of the enterprises which become independent economic units. The implementation of the new principles can be carried out, naturally, only step by step, as the serious external economic situation of the country requires the central management of several raw and basic materials and energy carriers. Similar restrictions are in force in connection with consumer prices; only 50 percent of them can be determined by the producers and the remaining part will continue to be controlled by state.

The price reform unprecedented in its size will provide a more realistic relation between production costs and sale prices, and between the prices of individual goods. In addition, calculations show that by the end of the year the reform will reduce by about 80 percent the existing differences between sound earnings and coverages.

Simultaneously with the reinstitution of order in the country, financial relations are also becoming normal. At present there are no obstacles in financial transactions between enterprises. Financial restrictions towards the population are expected to be cancelled in the near future; for example, the temporarily blocked saving deposits and currency accounts will be opened, said Polish Finance Minister Marian Krzak.

Ozdowski on Church, Trade

LD242124 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 82

[Interview with Polish "Catholic Deputy Premier" Jerzy Ozdowski by unidentified correspondents; date and place not given -- recorded, with Ozdowski's answers in Polish with superimposed translation]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Deputy Premier, what kind of role can the church play in the settlement of the crisis?

[Answer] The Catholic Church in Poland is a gigantic factor of stabilization and the normalization of conditions. I would like to note that the dialogue between the church and the state is in progress and an agreement between these two great social institutions is a very viable idea.

[Question] You deal with social policy issues. Obviously, less money is available in this sphere these days. What are the objectives on which considerably less money is spent, and what are those to which slightly more funds are allocated?

[Answer] You have rightly remarked that in this difficult economic situation persons in the greatest need must be protected. The socialist economy must open a protective umbrella over those groups of the population that are particularly seriously affected by the difficult economic conditions. In my view, the combination of the various phenomena, that is, the crisis, the harsh winter and the floods, is very dangerous. In this connection several social groups needed rapid and real assistance.

[Question] You are also one of the cochairmen of the Polish-Hungarian Intergovernment Committee. What is the effect of the state of emergency on relations between our countries?

[Answer] The Poles do not want to live at other people's expense; they want to find their own prosperity. However, this requires relationships based on partnership, in particular with peoples that are so near to us as, for example, the Hungarian people. I am very grateful for the fact that the Hungarian side has dispatched additional deliveries in a large number of various foodstuffs, medicines and clothes. These articles were a great help for us in December and January. These products were sent in the form of additional deliveries. As for the trade agreement in force for this year, we will discharge it in full.

[Question] Does that include Polish exports, too?

[Answer] Yes, Polish exports, too. We must carry out our export commitments if we want the Hungarian side also to discharge 100 percent the commitments which it has undertaken.

Ozdowski on Social Assistance

LD221230 Warsaw PAP in English 1123 GMT 22 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Jan (PAP) -- Today's RZECZPOSPOLITA published an interview with Vice-Premier Jerzy Ozdowski, headlined "In the Difficult Conditions of Everyday Living." Vice-Premier Ozdowski heads the Council for Family Affairs.

Speaking about the council's to date activity, the vice-premier said that it has given priority to the problems of the old and disabled people as well as families with many children. A special coordinating team for social aid has been set up. This aid covers four basic groups of needs: financial, food, fuel and services, he said.

This year, Vice-Premier Ozdowski went on, we would like to help the young family. We think it should be provided with proper financial, living and employment conditions. The other immediate target is to work out a new model of social assistance. More people will be involved in this task. We want to invite participation of the youth, social and women organisations in the task, he said.

Voicing optimism about the Polish family's capacity to face up to the present difficulties, Vice-Premier Jerzy Ozdowski said that he had faith in the "vital and cultural strength of the nation." "The entire process of our renewal requires social reintegration in the spirit of service for the nation," he said and added that the Poles were capable of sacrifice and of accepting superior reasons. Vice-Premier Ozdowski also said that he believed in the rational attitude of the Catholic Church, a propagator of moral and patriotic values.

ECONOMIST INTERVIEWED ON COAL OUTPUT, SANCTIONS

LD021230 Warsaw PAP in English 1110 GMT 22 Jan 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Jan (PAP) -- Professor Czeslaw Bobrowski, a noted Polish economist, told the daily RZECZPOSPOLITA that there was hope for gradual improvement of the economy although there was no reason for euphoria. "The situation is difficult. The key positive elements bearing on economic stabilization are not numerous this year, but their outline is already visible and it is this that counts," said the professor.

He went on: "This concerns above all the growth of coal output, which I consider as most important. The volume of production in all economic branches depends on the size of coal deliveries and the resultant electric energy supply.

"Coal is also immensely important in view of foreign trade policy. Strictly speaking, this commodity determines earnings from export to the capitalist countries since it can be easily sold for cash. Moreover, coal is the principal means to make the Polish economy credible in the eyes of Poland's creditors," said Professor Bobrowski.

He said in the closing part of the interview: "I do not believe that the present American stand on credit grain deliveries to Poland would be maintained unrelaxed for a very long time although, on the other hand, it is lined up with the overall American policy toward the Soviet Union. Worth mentioning is the fact that still before martial law proclamation, the United States displayed a negative attitude towards this matter. This is why less favourable hypotheses cannot be completely ruled out. This would pose the greatest threat to the living standard in our country. So it is justified to say that the biggest threat is of a political character."

STASZIC COAL MINE EXPECTED TO YIELD MORE TONNAGE

LD262302 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] On the eve of the 37th anniversary of the liberation of Katowice, Lt Gen Pilot Roman Paszkowski, Katowice voivoda, met the workforce of the Staszic mine. Last year the miners at this mine extracted 3.5 million tons of coal and this year it is planned to extract over 4 million tons.

The main activities outside the production sphere which are being undertaken by the management of the mine include the building of new houses for the workforce, the majority of which are miners who have to travel to work or who are housed in workers' hostels. The Katowice voivoda, accompanied by the political and administrative authorities of the town, presented state awards during the meeting to miners to whom they have been awarded.

LUBIN COPPER MINES ACHIEVE ABOVE-PLAN PRODUCTION

LD221456 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Text] Miners in the Lubin copper basin have successfully begun implementation of this year's tasks. By 20 January, four copper mines extracted 11,000 tons of copper ore above plan. The best results this month are being achieved at the Polkowice mine.

SUCCESSFUL SUGAR CAMPAIGN FIGURES CITED

LD231938 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Summary] The very successful sugar campaign ended today; 1,722 tons of sugar have been produced, which is almost 100,000 tons more than planned and the third best result in the history of the Polish sugar industry. This output will make it possible to satisfy all the needs of the home market.

TRIBUTE TO GOMULKA PUBLISHED ON PARTY ANNIVERSARY

AU261155 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jan 82 pp 4, 5

[Marian Malinowski article: "On the 40th Anniversary of the Polish Workers Party -- Wladyslaw Gomulka"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The history of the Polish Workers Party and the deeds of the Polish revolution, being a component part of the general course of battle for social progress and for the national and social liberation of those who were oppressed and exploited, are inseparably connected with that great son of the Polish people, ardent internationalist, patriot and communist Wladyslaw Gomulka, also know as "Wieslaw." On the 40th anniversary of the Polish Workers Party, it is therefore fitting to recall the life story of its joint founder.

He was born on 6 February 1906 in Krosno to a working-class family. When he was 14 years old, in 1919, he began working as an apprentice locksmith. From 1922 onward he worked as a qualified locksmith in the crude oil industry in Krosno, Jedlicz and Gorlice. In 1921 he had already organized the workers youth association "Sila" in Krosno. He involved himself with the workers revolutionary movement from the beginning of his political activity. AT FIRST HE WAS ACTIVE IN THE POLISH SOCIALIST PARTY IN LEWICA. THEN FROM 1926 HE BELONGED TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND. He organized the left wing in the trade union of chemical industry workers. In 1930 he became secretary of the chief administration of the chemical workers union. FROM 1931 HE WAS SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNION LEFT, AT THE SAME TIME BECOMING A MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL PROFESSIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE. HE ORGANIZED AND LED NUMEROUS STRIKE BATTLES.

In 1932, while organizing a strike by Lodz textile workers, he was injured by the police and arrested. He was released from prison for health reasons in 1934 and sent by the party to the USSR where he studied at the International Leninist School in Moscow. IN 1936 HE RETURNED TO POLAND AND WAS DIRECTOR OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND'S SILESIA BRANCH. He was arrested in Katowice and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment. He served his sentence mainly in a prison in Sieradz where he occupied a prominent position in the prison commune. IN SEPTEMBER 1939, HE BROKE OUT OF PRISON IN SIERADZ AND MADE HIS WAY TO WARSAW WHERE TOGETHER WITH OTHER COMMUNISTS HE TOOK PART IN THE DEFENSE OF THE CAPITAL. After Warsaw's capitulation he went to Bialystok where for a certain time he ran a home for former political prisoners, and then he went to Lwow, where he was department manager in the paper plant.

After the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, he went to the Rzeszow region where his family came from and there took an active part in the establishment of the Polish Workers Party and its People's Guard. IN JULY 1942 THE SECRETARIAT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONTACTED HIM AND SUMMONED HIM TO WARSAW WHERE HE BECAME SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND'S WARSAW BRANCH.

This was a particularly difficult time since the Nazi authorities were successful in inflicting serious blows to the executive organization of the Communist Party of Poland and the People's Guard. FROM OCTOBER 1942 W. GOMULKA BELONGED TO THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE. UNDER HIS DIRECTORSHIP THE REBUILDING OF THE WARSAW ORGANIZATION OF THE POLISH WORKERS PARTY AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TACTICAL ACTIVITY OF THE PEOPLE'S GUARD WERE SUCCESSFUL. He took part in working out a plan of action by the leadership of the Polish People's Party to retaliate against Nazi atrocities. This action was taken up by the People's Guard all over the country.

After the tragic death of the first secretary of the Polish People's Party, Marceli Nowotko, nicknamed the "old man", he became in January 1943 a member of the Central Committee Secretariat of the Polish Workers Party, at whose forefront stood PAWEL FINDER. IN VIEW OF THE NAZI'S INCREASING ACTIONS OF EXTERMINATION, HE WAS CHIEF SPOKESMAN FOR NATIONWIDE AGREEMENT IN THE NAME OF ORGANIZING THE NATION'S CORPORATE TACTICAL SELF-DEFENSE. He penned the dramatic open letter to the national delegation of the government-in-exile dated January 15, 1943, in which the Polish Workers Party called on all patriotic forces of the anti-Nazi underground to dispense with the passive policy being advocated by the London government and its equivalents in Poland, pointing out that only armed battle by the entire nation could stop the Nazis from carrying out their plans for exterminating the Polish community, and that only armed battle could bring the moment of Poland's liberation nearer.

Soon afterwards, Wladyslaw Gomulka was chairman of the delegation of the Polish Workers Party Central Committee and the People's Guard main leadership which held talks in the second half of February 1943 with envoys from the home delegation of the government-in-exile and with the chief headquarters of the Home Army in Warsaw on the above-mentioned subject. Despite the fact that the Home Army's commandant, Gen Stefan Rowecki "Grot", had already published an article on 11 February 1943 entitled "With Rifles at One's Feet," this being a reply to the propositions contained in the open letter from the Polish Workers Party Central Committee, Gomulka, in the name of the party leadership, put forward a plan of joint action in the armed battle by the united patriotic forces of the anti-Nazi underground. At this time he also put forward a concept of agreement among all political groups, with the exception of the "Sanacja" regime system and the national radical camp, in order to fashion a democratic government of the entire country capable of continuing battle for the country's liberation. HE TOOK AN ACTIVE PART IN WORKING OUT THE PROGRAM DECLARATION OF THE POLISH WORKERS PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE DATED 1 MARCH 1943 WHICH PRESENTED PROPOSALS ON THE TRANSFORMATIONS THAT SHOULD TAKE PLACE WHEN THE COUNTRY WAS LIBERATED, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF A DEMOCRATIC PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT FORMED IN THIS WAY.

After the delegation of the government-in-exile and the Home Army chief headquarters had rejected the party's proposals of joint action in the battle against the enemy, Wladyslaw Gomulka took part in all of the most important decisions and actions by the Secretariat of the Polish Workers Party's Central Committee INTENDED TO BUILD UP FROM THE RANK-AND-FILE AN ANTIFASCIST, NATIONAL FRONT FROM ALL DEMOCRATIC FORCES OF THE POLISH COMMUNITY IN THE TEETH OF LOCAL REACTION. In articles published in the columns of conspiratorial writings, the Polish Workers Party claimed that the party should follow a policy of uniting the community in a national front not only during the battle to regain independence, but also after the country had been liberated and the social rebuilding of Poland was going on. HE WARMLY ADVOCATED POLAND'S COMBAT COOPERATION AND POST-WAR ALLIANCE WITH ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE ANTI-HITLERITE COALITION, PARTICULARLY WITH THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH CONTRIBUTED THE LARGEST PART IN THE DEFEAT OF THE FASCIST THIRD REICH.

Polish policy with regard to the German question outlined by the Polish Workers Party under the occupation and pursued to this day goes primarily to his credit. He constantly emphasized that Poland's future position in post-war Europe and the world would depend first of all on the contribution made by the Polish people toward the great cause of defeating the fascist states, primarily Hitlerite Germany. In the Polish Workers Party leadership he was the main architect of the program's vision of People's Poland, as well as the AUTHOR OF THE FINAL VERSION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PROGRAM DOCUMENT -- THE POLISH WORKERS PARTY PROGRAMMATIC DECLARATION "WHAT DO WE FIGHT FOR?" WHICH WAS PUBLISHED IN NOVEMBER 1943.

Precisely while editing that document, he reached the conclusion that it was necessary to form in the country a democratic political representation of society, the People's Council in Poland. His plan for forming the People's Council in Poland was endorsed by the other members of the Secretariat and then by the Polish Workers Party Central Committee. He participated in the talks concerning the People's Council in Poland with representatives of the Polish Socialist Workers Party and with radical figures of the Peasants Party. He was the author of the manifesto by democratic sociopolitical and military organizations in Poland dated 15 December 1943 which announced the formation of the People's Council in Poland by those organizations and drew up its programmatic platform.

AFTER PAWEL FINDER'S DETENTION BY THE HITLERITES, GOMULKA WAS ELECTED SECRETARY OF THE POLISH WORKERS PARTY. FROM THEN UNTIL 1948 HE HEADED THE PARTY AND STEERED THE DIFFICULT AND COMPLEX PROCESS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FINAL NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION OF POLAND AND FOR THE SOCIALIST LINE IN ITS DEVELOPMENT.

Under his leadership, the People's Council in Poland emerged and formed the People's Army. The People's Council in Poland, the People's Army and local people's councils became the main organizational form of building an antifascist front of the nation fighting for its liberation. Notwithstanding the moves made by the Hiterlite oppressors and by our own reaction, Gomulka indefatigably strived to expand the sociopolitical basis of the People's Council in Poland although his efforts did not always meet with understanding on the part of some Polish Workers Party figures.

When a part of Poland was liberated by the Red Army and by the Polish Army fighting side by side Gomulka crossed the frontline and went to Lublin to place himself at the head of the legal Polish Workers Party. FROM THEN ON HIS ACTIVITY WAS LINKED WITH THE EMERGING PEOPLE'S STATEHOOD. HE HEADED THE PARTY AT THE TIME WHEN FOUNDATIONS WERE LAID FOR THE STATE ADMINISTRATION, WHEN THE POLISH ARMY WAS FORMED, WHEN THE AGARIAN REFORM WAS CARRIED OUT, WHEN THE GROUND WAS PREPARED FOR THE FUTURE NATIONALIZATION OF INDUSTRY, AND WHEN AFTER CENTURIES, THE WESTERN AND NORTHERN LANDS WERE REINCORPORATED INTO POLAND.

As the party's leader, he took an intensive part in the work of the People's Council in Poland. At its 31 December 1944 session, he outlined an activity program for the provisional government which was formed at that time, and in particular brought forward the postulate to conclude a formal alliance between the reborn Poland and the Soviet Union, which came true on 21 April 1945. He became a vice premier in the provisional government, and when the Provisional Government of National Unity was formed, he additionally became minister of the recovered lands.

People's Poland was built under the conditions of very bitter class struggle. Reactionary forces did not give up their endeavors to seize power. In addition, within the Polish Workers Party leadership in Lublin, there were differences of opinion linked with the fact that apart from the Polish Workers Party Central Committee, there was another center in occupied Poland, the Central Bureau of Polish Communists. The programmatic concept of People's Poland worked out by the national leadership of the Polish Workers Party was assessed by figures of the Central Bureau of Polish Communists.

Even before a part of Poland was liberated, they opposed the Polish Workers Party postulate concerning the nationalization of industry. They had a different view on the question of agrarian reform and urged that further possibilities be sought to reach an accord from the top with the leaders of liberal and bourgeois groups, although that was already impossible.

The Politburo of the Polish Workers Party Central Committee, formed in August 1944, was dominated by figures of the Central Bureau of Polish Communists who opposed the political line and programmatic achievements of the Polish Workers Party. As a result of that, People's Poland, shaped in the Lublin period, was emerging as a portentious [wypadkowy] clash between two different concepts, although life had already proved that the political line traced by the Polish Workers Party leaders in the country was correct.

The first attempt to repel the attack against the programmatic achievements attained by the Polish Workers Party during the war and the occupation, and to oppose the reviving dogmatic and factional trends within the party, was made at the first party congress in December 1945. It was not an accident that the attitude to the program of the underground Polish Workers Party constituted the fundamental ideopolitical issue at the congress. The congress succeeded in defending the party's programmatic achievements and political line. That was reflected in the congress decisions, particularly in the Polish Workers Party's strategic plan in the struggle for consolidating people's rule in Poland and for changes guaranteeing socialist prospects for the development of Polish society. The personal contribution made by Wladyslaw Gomulka, the party's general secretary, toward outlining the position of the first congress was great.

In subsequent years, when people's rule succeeded in consolidating within the bitter struggle against the counterrevolutionary underground and against the legal opposition on the part of the Polish Peasants Party, opposing forces had stiffened within the party. In the changing international and internal situation of Poland and in view of the nearing prospect for merging, the Polish Workers Party leadership, supported by dogmatist and factional forces in the party, resolved to launch a general attack against the party's political line pursued at that time. That brought about the moves made after the June 1948 PZPR Central Committee plenum. Through the July-August-September plenum and the unification congress, and then through the third PZPR Central Committee in November 1949, those moves brought about the victory of those forces in the leadership of the united party who voiced slogans of the struggle against "Gomulka-ism" and against the "rightwing nationalist deviation."

At that time, the attack against the leaders and political line of the Polish Workers Party adopted in the occupation period and confirmed by the First Congress of the Polish Workers Party was launched from dogmatic and factional positions. That resulted in the removal of the Polish Workers Party general secretary as early as at the August-September plenum shortly before his detention, and in the ensuing deformations in internal party life and also in the functioning of the state. Wladyslaw Gomulka shared the dreams of the Polish revolution.

In 1956 Wladslaw Gomulka was destined to stand at the head of the party once again.

THE PERIOD OF THOSE 14 YEARS CALLS FOR EARNEST AND CLOSE EXAMINATION. OTHERWISE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO ANSWER MANY QUESTIONS BY THE PRESENT-DAY PZPR.

It is generally known that the Third PZPR Congress in March 1959 abrogated and found erroneous the decisions of the August-September 1949 plenum, as well as of the First PZPR Congress, or the unification congress of the Polish Workers Party and the Polish Socialist Party, with regard to the alleged right-wing and nationalist deviation. Notwithstanding, subsequent attempts were made in recent years to undermine the correct decisions of the Third PZPR Congress. At the same time, certain forces did not hesitate to fabricate provocative jabs slandering the good name of that meritorious fighter of People's Poland.

IT IS FITTING TO RECALL THIS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORMATION OF THE POLISH WORKERS PARTY, THE PARTY WITH WLADYSLAW GOMULKA AS JOINT CREATOR AND ZEALOUS LEADER.

SLOVAK PRAVDA INTERVIEWS SIWAK ON PARTY TASKS

AU251627 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Jan 82 p 6

[Pavol Minarik article: "From the Polish Notebook; Meeting With Comrade Siwak"]

[Text] The headquarters of the PZPR's Warsaw Voivodship Committee has become a place which we have visited together with our correspondent J. Lipavsky almost daily since 13 December 1981. The place was always as busy as a beehive. We spoke with functionaries as well as with rank-and-file workers of the party committees. Once we were even helped by a coincidence in these not exactly best of working conditions.

That morning I had already been waiting a good half hour for my colleague in front of the city party committee. There were heaps of snow everywhere, the thermometer showed 18 C below zero, and he had to undergo several checks. He was late. I almost regretted the time wasted in the subzero temperature when I saw Comrade Albin Siwak, PZPR Politburo member, coming to the building. Since several busy months had elapsed since my last meeting with this comrade, I did not think he would remember me. My concern was unfounded, however...Some time ago I forgot my coat in Comrade Siwak's modest office in the unfinished Grochow housing settlement. And in the 2 days that it took me to come back to pick it up, he did not leave the construction site for a single minute. Now he remembered it with a smile. Although Comrade Siwak was in a hurry to get to a meeting of the Warsaw party committee, in less than an hour, during the meeting's recess, he willingly answered our questions:

[Question] What is the communists' primary task during the state of emergency?

[Answer] It is impossible to talk about only one task of the Polish communists; what is involved is an entire complex of tasks, which must be resolved in the present complicated situation. But communists are, above all, obliged to do all they can for the implementation of the measures arising from the state of emergency. This, at the same time, is also the task of all honest Poles. The screening of party members, too, are of importance for the whole party. Some organizations have already begun them.

[Question] What is the situation in the party's primary organizations like?

[Answer] They cannot be assessed as a whole. There are positive as well as negative examples. Several party organizations were disbanded; in others committee secretaries were recalled from their posts. In the majority of them, however, they immediately began to resolve the necessary tasks, and this, I think, is a positive development.

[Question] What do the reports which the PZPR Central Committee has been receiving from all over the country since the first days of the imposition of the state of emergency say?

[Answer] They vary, but the most common ones are the ones which report that party members are joining the direct struggle for socialist renewal. They are putting themselves at the disposal of the Central Committee as well as voivodship party committees. They are taking their place in the front ranks of the defenders of socialism. Many examples of that exist in all organizations, including the one in Warsaw.

[Question] How do you assess the socialist countries' reaction to and their stance on the imposition of the state of emergency by the PZPR Central Committee.

[Answer] Positively, of course, In making such a weighty decision, we relied on the fact that we are not isolated from the surrounding world, that we have good neighbors on which we can rely; otherwise that decision could not have been made.

Further in the interview with Comrade Siwak, it arose that a polarization of forces has taken place in the country. Those who some time ago could not find a good word to say about the party and people's power, who were publicly praising the hazardous policy of "Solidarity's" extremist leaders in the mass information and propaganda media, became turncoats overnight. Beginning on the first day of the state of emergency, they began shouting hurrah for the party, that they actually always supported it, only times were bad and they forced them, the "innocent ones," to be against it. In the final part of the interview, Comrade Siwak noted that in the coming period the party must be vigilant precisely against this type of people. One of its tasks will be to prevent such people from getting into posts from which they could continue working against the party. The party has exposed the first attempts of these opportunists already.

The party of Polish communists now faces a lot of hard work. The situation in the country, despite the obvious normalization, continues to be complex. Comrade Siwak spoke about that also at the session of the Warsaw Voivodship committee. In his speech he recalled, among other things, his last meeting with the party aktiv of one enterprise prior to 13 December. It was a very painful and bitter meeting, Comrade Siwak said. The majority of the participants did not trust the party, did not trust state power or himself. Ninety percent of the members of that party organization were at the same time "Solidarity" members, and according to them only "Solidarity" was the guarantee of truth and democracy. They refused me the right to regard myself as a worker then, A. Siwak said. I was looking at them as they were screaming at each other, how they were clenching their fists. At that time I had before my eyes a picture of myself standing with clenched fists, beating my head against a wall of arrogance, unable to find a single opening through which one could push through human grief and injustice...

At the aktiv, Comrade Siwak then asked the participants whether they knew how he had made it to the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, whether they thought he had been selected for it justly and democratically -- do you remember my speeches at the individual sessions of the party Central Committee, at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, at which I criticized some party and state representatives? -- he asked further. Then no one interrupted him, no one prevented him from continuing his speech.

But let us talk about your problems, Comrade Siwak continued. -- Some time ago you selected your chairman as a delegate to the "Solidarity" congress in the Gdansk Oliwia Hall. He was one of the few at that congress who did not devote himself to politics; he spoke about trade union matters. For example, that Z17,000 and Z8,000 on top of it as a bonus each month is far too high a remuneration for "Solidarity's" rank-and-file workers [radovi pracovnici], that even university professors in Poland were not making that much. After 6 minutes they interrupted him at the congress, saying that he allegedly exceeded the time limit reserved for his discussion speech. For voicing an unpleasant truth they did not even allow him to remain until the end of the congress. He had to go home. Are you fighting for this type of democracy, are you accusing me in the name of democracy and truth of being neither a worker nor a Pole? -- Comrade Siwak asked and continued -- there are among you, in your enterprise, two persons I have known since 1950. We used to work together then. Today they are here. Let them say whether I am not telling the truth. Those people stood up and confirmed his words. The chairman of "Solidarity" there also confirmed all his arguments. But all those who were present there then will remember those bitter moments for a long time.

In another part, Comrade Siwak than said: Let us permit no one to manipulate us. We will help ourselves without advisers, mediators and false prophets. One has only to have clean hands, a cool head and an ardent heart. An ever increasing number of people are realizing that without honest work and social discipline nothing can be achieved in Poland.

I have heard that I, Albin Siwak, have now -- after the disposition of the state of emergency -- the chance to pay "Solidarity" back for the wrong which it did me, he said further. It is unpleasant for me even to hear such things. I have always fought honorably.

I am incapable of striking from behind, and as for my work and life, there is nothing that would call for revenge. True, there have been many difficult moments in my life, A. Siwak said, and even those closest to me were not spared.

A detailed document on the preparation for the physical liquidation of Comrade Siwak and other communists, who honrably fought against "Solidarity's" false policy, was found in the headquarters of Mazowsze "Solidarity" in Warsaw.

Our task, the task of the entire party, is to become worthy of the workers class for whose trust we must now fight, says Comrade Albin Siwak today, and together with him many honest people. The future and the form of socialism in People's Poland depends on the results of this struggle.

POLITBURO MEMBERS ATTEND VOIVODSHIP MEETINGS

Party Aktiv Conferences

LD260300 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0000 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] In many areas, party aktiv conferences took place yesterday, in which representatives of the highest authorities participated.

Zofia Grzyb, Politburo member, took part in a meeting of the women's party-economic aktiv from the Rekord knitwear factory in Jedrzejow.

In Lublin, Politburo member Albin Siwak met with the party aktiv of the town, (?where) he devoted his speech to the rebuilding of the party, and the purging from its ranks of mistaken people, those devoid of ideology and opportunists [koniunkturlaisci].

The debates of the Tarnow Voivodship party control commission plenum were attended by Stanislaw Opalko, Politburo member and first secretary of the Tarnow Voivodship committee.

The Olsztyn Voivodship was visited by Wlodzinierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, who met with the party aktiv of several enterprises in (?Ilawa). This meeting, like the others, was devoted to the present political and socioeconomic problems of the country.

Orzechowski in Jelenia Gora

LD231846 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Jan 82

[Text] Today's plenary meeting of the Jelenia Gora Voivodship PZPR Committee was devoted to assessing the work of the party voivodship organization under the conditions of martial law and the tasks facing the party in the current sociopolitical situation. It was stated during the deliberations that the majority of party organizations at enterprises in Jelenia Gora Voivodship have intensified their activity recently and that the scope of their influence on society has increased.

Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, who took part in the meeting, said that it must be clearly understood that the reconstruction of the party will be carried out during a difficult period of class struggle. The enemy forces have not been completely defeated and are helped by various friends in Western countries, led by U.S. imperialism. A strong propaganda action is being developed against People's Poland. A resolute fight must be waged against all these enemy forces and a rapid reconstruction of the party -- ideologically and organizationally strong -- is needed to ensure that this struggle is as effective as possible.

The plenum adopted a resolution fully approving the introduction of martial law as well as the decisions made in this period by the Military Council of National Salvation led by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Plenum Assesses Current Work

LD241720 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 24 Jan 82

[Text] An assessment of work done to date and tasks in the current sociopolitical situation were the topics of a voivodship committee plenum in Jelenia Gora. During the deliberations it was stated that the situation in the region and the country is beginning to return to normal. Measures are needed to unite in a creative effort all the patriotic forces of our nation. The participants in the plenum said that the party's standing must be enhanced and the confidence of all of society in its program must be regained in order to extricate the country from the acute crisis.

More on Orzechowski

LD242000 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Jan 82

[Text] An assessment of the work to date by the voivodship party organization and the tasks in the current socioeconomic situation were the subject of a session of the Jelenia Gora Voivodship party committee. During the session, attention was focused on the need for action to unite in a create effort all the patriotic forces of our nation. In order to extricate the country from the difficult crisis it is necessary to enhance the party's authority and to regain society's confidence in the party's program.

Referring to the debate at the session, Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the party Central Committee, said that the key task is to find an answer to the question: What must the party do in order to regain its credibility? The secretary of the party Central Committee went on to say that the reconstruction of the party will continue in the very difficult period of class struggle in our country. Extremist activists of Solidarity attempt to act from their hiding places, and they are supported in their actions with aid and advice from various forces in Western countries which are hostile to socialism.

A resolution was adopted at the plenary session of the party voivodship committee approving introduction of martial law and the decisions taken by the Military Council of National Salvation.

TRADE OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON SANCTIONS, POLICY

LD211520 Warsaw PAP in English 1411 GMT 21 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Jan (PAP) -- "Contrary to the fallacious propaganda about the effects of martial law, our partners with an objective look may from day to day get convinced about the progressing socio-economic normalization. It also is clearly visible in an increasing output and export of coal and other raw materials," stated Poland's Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Antoni Karas in an interview for the party newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU today.

"Poland is planning to continue the road of renewal, consistently implement economic reforms, just like it wants to maintain economic relations with all countries -- and especially with our traditional partners. Yet this must not be taking place under a threat of sanctions, (?while dictating) to us political conditions constituting an open interference in the internal matters of a sovereign state," said the deputy minister.

"The sanctions declared by President Reagan will soon bear a negative impact on the Polish economy and living standards of the nation, especially as food is concerned... It must be remembered that the United States is among Poland's very important partners in the Western world," he said.

Deputy Minister Antoni Karas went on to say that "the suspension of credits and, eventually, of deliveries means (?fewer) goods on the Polish tables which even so are modestly stocked.

"The cut of maize supplies alone from the U.S. will cause a slump in poultry production and an expansion of the gap in meat supply for the population by some 250,000 tonnes this year.

"The supply of the population in food is directly connected with the withdrawal of Polish fishing rights in American waters.

"Also the hard currency losses will amount to about 20 million dollars, that is as much as we got last year for selling fish fillets by ships in the above-mentioned waters.

"The freeze of credits by the export-import bank will hamper our production of many goods sought-after by the society and will negatively affect the level of exports," continued Antoni Karas.

He noted that "over the week of January 4-11 -- when the NATO declaration was passed -- there were visible signs of gradual stabilization of life in Poland. The NATO declaration fails to take note of that and tries to dictate Poland terms conditioning abstention from the restrictions and a return to normal relations by the Atlantic pact states.

"The refusal to finance guaranteed credits to be repaid in 1982 and the suspension of the possibility to draw new import credits must be treated as a unilateral violation of the April agreement by NATO countries. It must be emphasized that Poland has so far honoured the accepted obligations and despite a very difficult economic situation consistently extends its readiness to continue talks on rescheduling the 1982 debts.

"It would also be a mistake to take at face value the declarations of humanitarian aid since its dimensions cannot better the existence of the society. Meanwhile, the attempted reprisals are of a total character because they are aimed against the entire economy and the whole society, are aimed at lowering the production output and, consequently, consumption and the standard of living.

"We must re-orientate our economic policy, downgrade our dependence on the West, to save us today and protect in the future against unsubstantiated restrictions.

"We intend to expand our cooperation with the socialist countries which have already granted Poland an all-round assistance.

"We intend to deepen cooperation with the developing countries.

"We also count on the sobering of the governments of Western states which are prejudiced toward us.

"We do not treat restrictions as an economic warfare declared against Poland and the Soviet Union, a warfare in the East-West economic relations. There are states which see things realistically and want to seek solutions permitting for the continuation of cooperation, which they do in the name of their own, well conceived interests. It is only the road of cooperation that they can count on to possibly soon regain the credits granted to us and the new advantages stemming from trade exchange," said Deputy Minister Karas.

SUSLOV'S DEATH REPORTED BY BUCHAREST RADIO

AU270832 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 27 Jan 82

[Text] As announced by TASS, Mikhail Suslov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee died on 25 January at the age of 79, after a short, serious illness.

CEAUSESCU'S BIRTHDAY MARKED IN BUCHAREST

Ceremony at Party Headquarters

AU261945 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1908 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Jan (AGERPRES) -- On Tuesday, January 26, Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, was celebrated on his birthday by the members of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP.

Attending were Elena Ceausescu, Ilie Verdet, the other members of the party and state leadership.

During the ceremony, which took place at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the party, Constantin Dascalescu read the letter the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP addressed to Nicolae Ceausescu on the occasion.

Taking the floor, the secretary general of the RCP, president of the republic, Nicolae Ceausescu, warmly thanked for the feelings expressed and for the congratulations and wishes conveyed.

The members of the Political Executive Committee, present at the ceremony, most warmly congratulated the leader of the RCP and of the Romanian state.

Soviet Ambassador's Greetings

AU261458 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, today received Vasiliy Ivanovich Drozdenko, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, at the latter's request.

The Soviet ambassador stressed that he has the great honor to extend warmest and most cordial congratulations to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on his birthday, as well as best wishes for good health and happiness and wishes for new successes in the highly responsible activity he is carrying out to the benefit of the Romanian people and the cause of peace and progress, on behalf of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union and on behalf of the members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

He also expressed the desire of the CPSU leadership that the relations of friendship between the CPSU and the RCP, between the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Romania should constantly expand in the interests of the Soviet peoples and the Romanian people and the cause of socialism and peace.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed thanks for the congratulations and asked the Soviet envoy to convey warm greetings and best wishes for good health to Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and to the CPSU leadership, as well as wishes for success in their activity. At the same time, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that he fully shares the desire expressed by the CPSU general secretary and by the CPSU leadership that relations between our parties, peoples and countries should constantly develop in their mutual interest and that of the cause of socialism and peace.

The meeting took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

ASSEMBLY COMMISSION ENDORSES LEADERSHIP CHANGES

LD261534 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Belgrade 26 Jan (TANJUG) -- The Commission for Elections and Appointments of the SFRY Assembly today endorsed the SFRY Presidency proposal that Milka Planinc be elected president of the Federal Executive Council. The proposal was also endorsed that Lazar Mojsov be elected to the post of federal secretary of foreign affairs, Stane Dolanc to the post of federal secretary of internal affairs and Adm Branko Mamula to the post of federal secretary of national defense.

LCY PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES CONGRESS REPORT

LD261550 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1436 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jan (TANJUG) -- At its session in Belgrade today the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed the draft of the political report for the 12th LCY Congress. The explanatory address was given by Stane Dolanc, member of the Presidium and chairman of the LCY Central Committee commission responsible for preparing the draft of the political report on the work of the LCY Central Committee and the basic characteristics of LCY activity between the 11th and 12th congresses.

In a wide-ranging discussion, suggestions and proposals were made so that the report reflects as realistically and as critically as possible the situation in the LCY and in our society and answers the question to what extent the League of Communists has carried out the tasks set at the 11th LCY Congress. The political report for the 12th LCY Congress is also the basis from which other 12th LCY Congress documents will flow. It was agreed that after the report has been added to on the basis of the Presidium suggestions and proposals, its draft will be discussed at the next session of the LCY Central Committee.

ENVOY TO WARSAW MEETS WITH POLISH OFFICIALS

LD261436 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jan (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Ambassador to Poland Muhidin Begic has called on Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR Committee in Lodz, and on Jozef Niewiadomski, voivoda of the Lodz City Voivodship.

In a long and friendly talk First Secretary Tadeusz Czechowicz briefed Ambassador Begic on the sociopolitical and economic situation and PZPR activity in conditions of martial law as well as on the measures to normalize the political and economic life in the country.

A positive assessment was made of the results of cooperation between some economic organizations and cultural institutions in Lodz and Yugoslav organizations. The possibilities were examined and interest was expressed in a greater level of involvement by economic organizations, and cultural and scientific institutions in Lodz within the context of the present and long term cooperation between our two countries.

First Secretary Czechowicz expressed gratitude for Yugoslavia's understanding stance on the present events in Poland and for the assistance provided in the form of food and other products, which is invaluable during this critical situation in the country.

MINIC INTERVIEWED ON WORLD ISSUES, POLAND

LD221516 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1009 GMT 22 Jan 82

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG) -- Milos Minic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Social Council for International Affairs, gave an interview to the Italian Christian Democratic newspaper LA DISCUSSIONE in which he answered several very topical questions about the international situation, the nonaligned countries' activities, and relations between Italy and Yugoslavia.

In answer to a question about the difficulties currently confronting Yugoslavia in the international sphere, Milos Minic pointed to the growth of international tension, confrontation and rivalry between the superpowers and between the blocs, saying that this concerns not only Yugoslavia but also the great majority of countries in the world. Our country, Minic said, is having great difficulty exporting its goods to developed Western countries and is trying to increase exports in order to reduce the relatively high trade and balance of payments deficits with those countries. Our economic cooperation with the developed countries of the East will continue normally, but we will try to expand the volume of economic cooperation with the developing countries as quickly as possible, Milos Minic emphasized.

The fact that the United Nations is not managing to implement the decisions of the General Assembly, Security Council and other organs is the fault of the military-political blocs and superpowers, whose mutual rivalry has blocked the resolution of nearly all international problems. The clearest example of this is the Madrid CSCE meeting, "at which the gains of Helsinki in 1975 are, so to speak, being brought into question," Milos Minic said.

There are differences in the Nonaligned Movement, as well as polarizations and even armed conflicts, but the majority of nonaligned countries are in an extremely difficult economic situation. An increasing number of nonaligned countries are being exposed to aggression (the southern African countries from the Republic of South Africa and the Arab countries from Israel), to pressure (the Caribbean countries), or to problems such as those faced by Kampuchea and Afghanistan. All this, Milos Minic said, affects the ability of the nonaligned countries to develop their full strength and influence in the struggle for peace, democratization of international relations and a new international economic order.

In answer to a question about Yugoslavia's current international position, Milos Minic said that it is the same as when President Tito was the leader of the country, adding that Yugoslavia is a nonaligned country which carries out this policy in both bilateral relations and all other international activities in the United Nations, the CSCE, and the Balkans. A return to detente, Minic judged, is the only way for the superpowers to return to a policy of the peaceful resolution of international problems and of bringing to an end the use of force and interference in internal affairs as well as military and other types of intervention.

In answer to a question about the crisis in Poland, Minic pointed out that our country's view, which has been stated publicly on several occasions, is that the crisis arose out of the deep contradictions which developed in Polish society and led to a deep conflict between the working class and the great majority of the Polish people in that country's policy and socioeconomic and political system prior to the events of August 1980.

These events set the Polish working class and people in motion in a struggle for deep economic and social reform and a transformation which would raise the working class to the level of a leading force in the development of the economy and society. We have said resolutely, Minic added, that the Polish people, the Polish working class and the most responsible political forces in Poland should themselves resolve the crisis into which Poland has fallen in a way which suits them and along the lines of the socialist renewal and democratic consensus which were proclaimed in the agreements between the Polish Government, the PZPR and the Solidarity trade union. We have expressed our firm conviction that these forces are capable of doing this, despite the latest events, and we still believe this.

We have come out most resolutely against foreign interference in Poland's internal affairs. Unfortunately, such interference has come from various quarters since the beginning of the Polish crisis and is still continuing. This has been a great hindrance to the most responsible Polish political forces in finding a way out of the crisis by democratic means and consensus. Milos Minic said that the developments in the Polish crisis are well known, including the introduction of martial law, which, it seems from general observations in the world, has continued to exacerbate the contradictions which led to this crisis and which still need a real solution.

Since then, a serious confrontation between the superpowers and blocs has developed in connection with Poland, and this has almost internationalized this crisis, Minic said, adding that one cannot forecast the further development of the Polish crisis, as there is insufficient information to do so.

In answer to a question on the situation in the Balkans, which has been characterized as "neither a powderkeg nor a zone of peace," Milos Minic replied: I do not know why the Balkans have been defined as being "neither a powderkeg nor a zone of peace." This definition, according to Minic, is perhaps more suitable for the whole of Europe today, as it is living through dangerous tensions and a deterioration of relations between the blocs and big powers. The whole of the old continent is covered with thousands of American, Soviet, French and British nuclear missiles which continue to pile up.

Minic also pointed out that the Balkans today are "more peaceful" than some other areas in Europe, despite certain open questions and disputes between individual countries. He warned that the great powers should keep their hands off the Balkan countries. "The Balkan countries and peoples are sufficiently mature and have learned enough lessons from history to be able to find peaceful solutions themselves, even to the most delicate issues. If not today, then sometime in the future the Balkans will become a permanent zone of peace and goodneighborly cooperation in the spirit of Helsinki and the UN Charter. This is of vital interest to all Balkan countries and something of which they are all more or less aware, since all wish to be independent and sovereign states, free from any kind of domination or hegemony," Minic emphasized.

There is a high level of bilateral cooperation and mutual understanding between Yugoslavia and Italy, which is demonstrated by the Osimo accords, Milos Minic said in closing. Many issues covered by these accords have been successfully resolved, although there remain some which are being constructively discussed and which have real prospects for the application of optimum solutions: the restitution of cultural property, compensation for Italian property in the former [word indistinct] zone and mutual recognition of faculty diplomas. As regards the position of the Slovene national minority in Italy, Milos Minic expressed the conviction that with the adoption of a law on the protection of the Slovene minority in Italy, the expectations of this minority to maintain their continued free development and integrity will be satisfied.

BAJALSKI ARTICLE ON PRAVDA RESPONSE TO PCI

AU261732 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 82 p 1

[Permanent correspondent Risto Bajalski report]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 24 Jan -- PRAVDA reacted today in polemical form to the recent documents of the PCI Directorate adopted by the Central Committee of the party of the Italian communists. In an extensive editorial article under the title "Against the Interests of Peace and Socialism," the leading CPSU daily in fact polemizes with the leadership of the PCI, whose position it assesses as a "serious blow to the struggle of the peoples for peace and against the danger of war," and as an "attempt to weaken the influence of the main and basic force of this struggle -- the countries in which socialism has won -- on the course of international events."

PRAVDA did not enter into a discussion on all the disputed questions pointed out in the PCI documents, just as it did not present the basic points of these documents, but only interpreted them in its way and assessed them as politically harmful. The PCI documents which provoked the polemic have not been published here even in the briefest outline.

According to the Soviet paper, the PCI leadership exploited the events in Poland "as a pretext" to present its positions on problems which "exceed by far" the limits of these events, such as, for instance, the problem of transition from capitalism to socialism and the attitude toward "real socialism."

It is said in this connection that the PCI leadership, "without any basis whatever," proclaimed the entire experience of the struggle for socialism and the building of socialism so far "to be outdated." It is said that the PCI leadership submits the achievements of socialism "to malevolent criticism and to inadmissible and unjust muddying."

As regards the PCI concepts about "a new road" to socialism, PRAVDA calls them "abstract" and remarks that they "resemble much the positions of opportunism and revisionism." The Soviet paper assesses that the PCI documents "touch on questions which concern the entire communist and liberation movement."

PRAVDA selected only a few questions on which it decided to define the Soviet positions differing from the PCI positions.

The paper states that the PCI leaders "slander" the USSR and its socialist allies, the "main and basic forces of the struggle for peace."

PRAVDA's chief accusation against the PCI leaders is the following: "The documents of the PCI adopted at the end of 1981 and the beginning of 1982 show that its leaders are now renouncing everything that linked them with distinguished fighters for peace and socialism in almost 90 countries of the world, and that they are openly standing up against world socialism, recognized by progressive social thought as the highest achievement in world social progress in the 20th century to date."

KOSOVO ORGANIZATIONS DISCUSS PROBLEMS, TASKS

Veterans Group

LD262340 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 26 Jan 82

[Text] Pristina, 26 Jan (TANJUG) -- The Presidium of the Kosovo Provincial Committee of SUBNOR [Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia] has set the tasks of the veterans' organization in implementing the LCY political platform in the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosovo. It was stressed that veterans must work in particular for the consolidation of unity and the restoration of the shaken trust among members of all nationalities in the province. It was stressed that concrete revolutionary political and social action free of rhetoric are needed for the struggle against counterrevolutionary forces of Albanian nationalism, irredentism and any other kind of nationalism. Members of the Kosovo SUBNOR Presidium pointed out the need to oppose all other negative phenomena.

Speaking about this, Milutin Folic, secretary of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee, noted in the introductory report that trust in the organs of power and in the legal security of citizens has been shaken to a certain extent. Physical attacks on individual citizens, usurpation of personal and property rights and various excesses cause citizens to become uncertain and to mistrust organs of power. This creates the impression that society is unable to extend legal protection to citizens. Folic therefore advocated that those responsible for excesses be not only exposed but also more effectively punished. It is necessary for veterans to make their contribution to this, in particular in the work of local organizations and communities.

University Council

LD260856 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1452 GMT 25 Jan 82

[Text] Pristina, 25 Jan (TANJUG) -- During its session today the Council of Kosovo University in Pristina discussed preparations for the enrollment of students in the 1982-83 school year. It decided that the number of newly enrolled must not exceed the number of students who had been enrolled last autumn. According to an opinion poll compiled by the university, faculties and higher education establishments in Kosovo proposed that a total of 10,073 regular students be enrolled next year, which would be about 700 more than enrolled this academic year. The council, however, decided that these first proposals by higher education institutions, in particular those in the social sciences sphere, should be reexamined and that, in agreement with the relevant sociopolitical factors of the province, the final number of students who will enroll next academic year will be established. This work will be completed by the end of February so that invitations to students to enroll may be made on time. It was also proposed that the number of part-time students be reduced to a realistic number. This attitude stems from the fact that in the past enrollment period, the expected interest in this type of studying has not been manifested. Practice has shown that workers from associated labor are enrolling less in part-time studies, while unemployed secondary school graduates, who later switch to regular studies, enroll there the most.

The university council and nearly all higher education establishments in Kosovo have come out in favor of introducing entrance examinations in groups and sections where more candidates register than are invited. The faculties and higher education establishments themselves have proposed that (?60) points be given for success in secondary school and that 40 be earned at entrance examinations. The council, however, is of the view that this ratio should be 50-50, as proposed by the community of the universities of the Serbian Socialist Republic.

It was stated at today's council session, as on many earlier occasions, that real planning is needed in the enrollment of university students in line with the most necessary requirements, primarily of the province's economy. What caused this to be pointed out were the attempts still being made by individual faculties and higher education institutions involved in social studies to propose increases in the number of students, instead of reductions, despite the tendency to increase the number needed for professions in material production. Of course, for the next school year it is planned to (?increase) the number of secondary school graduates directed toward studies of technical, natural sciences and mathematics, medical and other professions; thus the entrance examinations for enrollment at these faculties will also be held a bit earlier. It was also pointed out that associated labor continues to make no demands for the education of highly-skilled cadres, which means that either it does not plan or that it makes unrealistic plans on the need for experts.

KOSOVO OFFICIAL SETS DATES FOR LOCAL ELECTIONS

AU252014 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 82 p 4

[Text] Pristina, 21 Jan -- On the basis of Article 18 of the Law on the Election and Recall of Delegates in the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Ilija Vakic, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, adopted a decision on scheduling elections for delegates of the Kosovo Assembly.

The elections for delegates to the chambers of the Kosovo Assembly will be held on 21 April, while the first constitutive sessions will be held on 5 May of this year.

In another decision, the president of the Kosovo Assembly scheduled the election of delegates to the councils of the communal assemblies in Kosovo, which will be held on 21 March for delegates to the sociopolitical councils, on 7 April for delegates to the councils of associated labor and also on 7 April for delegates to councils of local communities.